DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 026 401 24 TE 499 963
By-Radcliffe, David J.
Education and Primary Development in Malaya 1900-1940; A Study of the Malay Community. Final Report.
Spons Agency-Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Bureau of Research.
Bureau No-BR-7-E-111
Pub Date 31 Dec 68
Grant-OEG-0-8-070111-0200-010
Note-77p.
EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC-$3.95
Descriptors-*Acculturation, Anthropology, Community, Community Characteristics, *Community Development, *Community Education, Cultural Interrelationships, Cultural Pluralism, Group Structure, Group Unity, History, Political Attitudes, Religious Cultural Groups, Social Change, Social Integration, *Social Sciences, Social Studies, Social Systems, Social Values, *Sociocultural Patterns, Sociology
Identifiers-*Malaya

This study investigated low-level primary education of rural village schools in Malaya to determine the influence of education in the development of the Malaysian community during the period from the 1890's to 1941. In addition, the concept that the "mass" can develop into an "audience" with specific interests and demands was considered. The four sources of information for the research were official government records in London and Kuala Lumpur, interviews with Malay schoolteachers, the pre-war Malay press, and a local survey in the subdistrict of Ulu Langat, Selangor, Malaya. The investigation revealed that, at the establishment of the colonial government (1896), the Malays of the Federated Malay States were not a homogeneous community, but a diversity of Malaysian peoples. The period of British rule saw the emergence of the Malay community as colonial policies caused both stimulation and reaction. Among the educational forces contributing to the creation of a cultural community were the government Malay vernacular primary schools, the trained Malay schoolteachers, the Islamic religious teachers, and the secular Malay vernacular press. (Author/JS)

ED026401

BR 7-E-111
PA-24
OE-BR

FINAL REPORT
Project No. 7-E-111
Grant No. OEG-0-8-070111-0200-010

# EDUCATION AND PRIMARY DEVELOPMENT IN MALAYA 1900-1940
## A STUDY OF THE MALAY COMMUNITY

December 1968

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

TE 499 963

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

FINAL REPORT

Project No. 7-E-111
Grant No. OEG-0-8-070111-0200-010

# EDUCATION AND PRIMARY DEVELOPMENT IN MALAYA 1900-1940

David J. Radcliffe

The University of Wisconsin

Madison, Wisconsin

December 31st, 1968

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a grant with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

CONTENTS PAGE

Acknowledgements iii

I. Summary 1

II. Introduction 4

III. Methods; Sources of Information 8

IV. Results (i) The Malay Peninsula prior to 1940 16

(ii) Ulu Langat, Selangor 21

(iii) The Basis of the System 1900-1918 29

(iv) The Other Malaya 1918-1940 43

V. Conclusions 53

Glossary 64

Bibliography 65

Maps (i) Malaya 71

(ii) Ulu Langat 72

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present report was undertaken as part of the author's research for the degree of Ph.D. at the University of Wisconsin. Materials collected while I was in Malaya supported by the United States Office of Education will form the core of my dissertation, which will be completed during the academic year 1968-69. Malaya has provided the basic material and the core study, but the plan of the final dissertation will be broadened to include observations over the field of South and Southeast Asia in general.

I would like here to record my thanks to those members of the History Faculty at the University of Wisconsin associated with the Programme in Comparative Tropical History, who have given me the benefit of their guidance while I have been at the University. Also I wish to record my thanks to Professor Andreas Kazamias of the Department of Education, University of Wisconsin, for initiation into the complexities of education and modernisation theory, and to Mr. Karl Schwartz, my fellow student, for the give-and-take of debate.

In Malaya I have many people to thank, those too many to name who put up with my interviews and who tried to help me solve my problems. I also wish to thank those members of the University of Malaya who welcomed me and gave their assistance. The officers of the Malaysian National Archives too were particularly accommodating, especially in bringing in at my request the files of the Kajang District Office, and giving me facilities to work through the indescribable mess that these turned out to be. Inche Husin Kandi of the University of Malaya, who accompanied me on a number of field trips, and who read through and surveyed a large amount of Jawi material in the University Library, deserves my particular gratitude.

I owe very special thanks to Mrs. Dick, Secretary of the Department of History, University of Wisconsin, for the care with which she handled my affairs while I was in Malaya, and her help with the reproduction of the final report. Mrs. Basler, of the History Office, struggled with the typing of my M.S., and earns my particular gratitude.

I owe most to Professor John R.W. Smail, of the Department of History, University of Wisconsin, my doctoral adviser, for his help, his criticism, and his tolerance. And finally there is my debt to my wife for her patience with my work, and her encouragement.

## I. SUMMARY

This report is concerned with the development of a Malay community in British Malaya, the Federated Malay States, during the period from the introduction of colonial rule up to the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941--roughly speaking a period of half a century. The report illustrates the fact that the community thus discussed was by no means homogeneous at the start of this period, and that becoming Malay, and gaining awareness of a common identity of interests, were in every sense educational processes. The forces behind these processes were both formal, a Malay vernacular school system set up by the colonial government, and informal. The report essays to discuss the relationship, or lack of it, between such formal and informal processes.

Secondly, the report is an attempt to contribute to the theory of an 'audience' as a part of a political model describing social organisation or the interaction behind 'elites' and 'audiences,' with 'brokers' acting as 'intermediaries.' If the audience is a tenable theory, in so far as audiences are extensive, undefined, and not systematically articulate, this study has only met with limited success in this self-appointed task.

Paradoxically, though the scope of the study is indeed very general--the processes creating a community--it was felt that the way to tackle the problem was to make a fairly limited study of one village or a group of villages. In the event one particular subdistrict of the State of Selangor was selected, containing five principal villages or nodes of settlement. A closer study of this area in particular it was hoped would give depth to the total research. At the same time the report contains a very general outline of educational provision for the Malay under colonial rule, but has made no attempt to cover western policy in detail, since accounts of this already exist (see bibliography).

Four sources of information were used, and these can again be subdivided into sub-categories. The sources were (i) Official government records, the Annual Administrative and Departmental reports on the Federated Malay States, and the more detailed local records of the files of the District under study. (This work was carried out in London and in Malaya); (ii) Personal interviews generally, undertaken in Malaya, with Malay schoolteachers who had been active during the pre-war period, and with scholars and others who would be able to supply advice and information; (iii) Local interviews in the selected district with the residents, in particular leaders of the village community, (iv) A sampling of Malay literature dating from this period, both the Malay newspapers, and short stories, reminiscences, essays, and other writings.

In part the research was limited more than had been anticipated by the absence of documentary records, either because these had been

lost or destroyed during the Japanese invasion of Malaya, or because much of the kind of information which would be welcome for such a study as this was never a matter of record. It was also found that individual memories differed too widely for any too certain constructions to be placed upon this factual information. Interviews, in these circumstances, were not highly structured, such as would be open to correlation and direct comparison, but instead took the form of probing into certain themes and lines of research as these were developed, with a considerable amount 'play-back' and cross-testing of information from one interviewee to another. Although this met with a considerable amount of contradictory advice from the interviewees, it did establish the main themes of the research.

The analysis has been divided into four principal sections. There is a brief introduction to the Malay peninsula and its peculiar prewar organisation, for those who may not be familiar with this. This is followed by a second introduction, to the mukim, or sub-district, of Ulu Langat, in the state of Selangor, with an explanation of the reasons for choosing this particular district, and a 'setting-of-the-scene' for this central core study.

Historically the account is divided into two periods, 'the Basis of the System,' describing the formation of the colonial Malay society up to about 1918, and a section which has been called 'The Other Malaya,' dealing with the remaining period up to 1940. This second section takes its title from the suggestion that there were really two Malayas, existing side by side in one territory, with only tenuous links between them. One was the Malaya created by western enterprise, peopled by European businesses and administrators, Chinese merchants, miners and labourers, and Indian clerks and coolies;only a few Malays were directly associated with this stiffly articulated Leviathan. The other Malaya was the Malay one, which, as this study points out, was also a new creation of this period, but a rural world, secondary and subordinate to the colonial Malaya.

It is the contention of this report that the Other Malaya, the sub-community described above, was just beginning, through essentially educational processes, to find its maturity when the cataclysm of world events of the 1940's broke into it, and disrupted the 'natural' lines of development. In this sense, this is an incomplete report, because it studies an incomplete development. It would not have been possible to trace the story further during the time available for research however, for, due to the war, a picture that one could see resolving into focus by the late 1940's, was shattered, and a study of the new courses of development would take us up to the present, when Malaya, now Malaysia, is only just beginning to emerge from the emotional constraint of the nationalist and independence movements, in terms of educational policy and progress.

The core of the study is the period from about 1920 to 1940, when the refined educational system of colonial Malaya brought to its final form the Malay village school, designed to subsume and reinforce the rural life of the Malay people. It was during this period that the Malay community took shape, and, having acquired an attitude to education as a force for change, but denied the full benefits of this, devised auxiliary educational means to circumvent this. The report considers roles of the Malay Penghulu or Mukim leader, the Village Teacher, and the conservative as compared with reformist religious teachers.

The burden of this report is an attempt to establish that education is what the educated, the 'audience' wish to make of it, rather than the results of administrative policy. This was so in the colonial period, when the government was neither responsible nor particularly responsive, to its subjects. It would be all the more true in the case of an independent nation basing its mandate upon popular support. This is not necessarily so simple as it would seem, since the study suggests that in Malaya there were educational processes at work which not only were not supported by the Malay school system, but also were at variance with it. Yet the very concept of education as a force for change, rather than for confirmation of an existing social system, was a colonial and western importation.

This constitutes the final report for the research undertaken in Malaya and England with U.S. Office of Education support. It is at the same time a preliminary study in the preparation of the researcher's dissertation for the University of Wisconsin. Malaya will form the core study of this dissertation, but the scope, it is hoped, will be broadened to bring in considerations of Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia for comparative analysis, if the appropriate information can be assembled. It is hoped that from this it will be possible to produce a clearer picture of the forces and processes under study in this report, and their implications for an understanding of the basic impact of education in developing societies.

## II. INTRODUCTION.

It is one of the canons of contemporary development theory that formal education is a powerful tool of social engineering. Coupled with this, historians of education in its relation to social and political development have presented us in recent years with a number of studies focussing on the role of education in the processes of social mobility and elite formation. Such studies tend to lay stress on the vertical forces in education, which enable an individual to transcend his environment and climb the ladder of attainment towards positions of influence and leadership. On the one hand we are concerned with the power of education to improve the general tenor of society, on the other with its ability to enable individual social mobility, to distinguish elites.

Studies of the role of elites in modernisation and political and social development can be carried out by sample surveys of individuals perceived to be in positions of influence. A number of such studies relating to specific countries are now available; a pioneering work in this field was Lucien Pye's study of Burma.(1) To utter a truism about elites, one of their essential characteristics is that they are readily distinguishable. They are also limited in numbers; Herbert Feith in his study of Democracy in Indonesia suggests an interesting assessment of those who belong to the central elite, and the extent of the "political public," a theory of concentric circles of political effectiveness ranged around the centre of government.(2)

The present study attempts to do something different, and is more concerned with the role of undistinguished education in the general leavening of society. Admittedly there is something of the old fashioned in this, of faith in the school system as the yeast of society. But at the same time it aspires to contribute to the definition of a more recent term in the elements of the political or social corpus, and one which, if it could be honed to greater sharpness, would be of great value to the educator. Hugh Tinker, in his lengthy essay Ballot Box and Bayonet, on political development in Asia, introduces the concept of the "audience."(3) He suggests that the body politic is composed of three elements, the elite, the brokers, and the audience. I do not propose to enter into further discussion of the uses and value of the term 'elite' here. Tinker himself discusses the important role of the brokers; the brokers are those lower level political leaders, schoolmasters, village shopkeepers, who are able to cement popular opinion and who must be located and satisfied by the politicians. What interests us here is the concept of the audience, which has yet to be worked out, for Tinker only introduces it tentatively.

---

(1) Lucian Pye, Politics, Personality and Nation Building (Yale 1962). See also Marshall Singer, The Emerging Elite, A Study of Political Leadership in Ceylon (Cambridge, Mass. 1964).

(2) Herbert Feith, The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia (Cornell 1962), pp. 108-113.

(3) Hugh Tinker, Ballot Box and Bayonet (London 1964), p. 102 ff.

The concept of an audience is not entirely new. It is partially expressed by the old saying "A national gets the government it deserves." What we are concerned with here is evolution of a common consciousness of identity of interests, a consciousness which gives rise to an implicit sense of community and nationality, and of the power of communities and nationalities to make claims on behalf of their general interests. Community and nationality are used here as equivalents of the Malay terms kaum and bangsa, which were much exercised during the 1930's. This evolution, or development, can be seen as essentially an educational process, and again it will be shown that many Malay writers during the period under study saw their community as a people at school, pupils in the modern world.

This study is primarily concerned, then, with what might be called the lateral forces of education, drawing a community together, as contrasted with the vertical forces of education, which select and create elites. It is concerned with education at the widest reach of its net, at the base of the pyramid, in the primary schools and their teacher training accessories. But it is also concerned with assessing the relationship, and relevance, of the formal school system at this level to the actual interests and trends of the Malay community.

The role of the primary school system is often only cursorily dealt with in any study of the part played by education in national, social and political development. This is hardly surprising, since the 'results' obtained in a three or four year primary course are hardly spectacular. Moreover, contemporary reports of such schools, such as the Annual Reports of the Directors of Education in the several British colonies before 1940, tend to pass over the primary school system rapidly, and concentrate in greater detail on the brighter achievements of the secondary schools and the various facilities for higher or specialist technical training. This is understandable, since more advanced education showed the progress of the colonial system. But it must be pointed out that in most cases, in terms of numbers of pupils involved, usually over 90% of the total educational effort was concerned with a purely primary system. Taking figures for recognised schools in South-East Asia on the eve of the Pacific War, one can calculate that primary school enrolment was of the order of 97% in British Burma, 99% in the Netherlands East Indies, 95% in Japanese Formosa, 99% in French Indo-China, 94% in British Malaya, 95% in the U.S. Philippines, and 99% in independent Thailand.(4)

---

(4) Based on a table in J.S. Furnival, Educational Progress in South-Eastern Asia (Oxford 1943), p. 111.

When trying to assess the role of such education, one must remember that generally at this time the primary course was intended to be terminal. It was not that secondary schools and higher education were not being planned; rather it was believed that a basic three or four year course was all that was needed by the rural peasant. And in most cases a large proportion of the post primary provision was concerned with training teachers for careers in the primary schools. Moreover in all of these territories the division between primary education and such secondary education as existed was sharply marked by the barrier of language, for while secondary education was given in the western language of the colonial power, primary schooling would be in the vernacular, or the several vernaculars, of the territory.

At this point we should consider the question of colonialism, for the discouraging picture painted above would at first sight seem to remind us of the 'evils' of a discredited system. The writer of this report would like to make it quite clear that after a career which began as a colonial service education officer, service in two consciously newly independent nations, and a period of specialist historical study of tropical areas, he is not at all sure that the word 'colonial' has any clear or useful meaning. Post "Independence" developments in the relationships between majority and minority ethnic groups in 'new' nations make nonsense of the concept of colonialism as a phenomenon which had a marked historical beginning and can be legislated to a final solution. Nor can the evils and benefits of the colonial relationship be easily weighed and judged. The historical approach for the present study has been an attempt to project the mind back into the period of the 1880's, when, in Malaya, a modernising western government was being set up, and to observe the ensuing developments progressively; it has not been to sit in judgment from the vantage point of the second half of the twentieth century, in a world which has changed considerably.

With this approach one can see the primary school in Malaya, as something which had not existed before, an entirely new element in the pattern of life. And the government appointed schoolmaster was a new personality in village society. At this point we have to draw distinctions, for in the Therevada Buddhist countries of mainland South-east Asia, the idea of a village school was not so entirely new; their monks' schools appear to have been a much more regular and formal system than such Koranic schools as existed in Malaya. Indeed in Cambodia the French were able to graft their own modern curriculum onto the monastic stem, and such a scheme was originally proposed, but never implemented, for British Burma.(5)

The present study is concerned specifically with British Malaya, and, because of the nature of the problem -- the immensity of the

---

(5)Virginia Thompson, French Indochina (New York 1937), pp. 352-3. J.S. Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice (New York 1956), pp. 124-5.

'audience' -- its main findings and principal conclusions have been drawn from a specific area within British Malaya. It is therefore essentially a case study, and its more general value can only be drawn from comparison with other similar, or nearly parallel studies, made from other case examples.

## III. METHODS

As outlined in the introduction, the problem faced by this piece of research has been to assess the role of education in the formation of an audience in Malay society during the pre-war period. "Audience" could be defined more closely as effective popular participation in social development and in the political process. In the course of the research many of the preconceptions of the original proposal have had to be modified, and some of the suggested lines of approach to the problem abandoned as impracticable. A major disappointment was the realisation of the tragic extent of the loss of official documentary and statistical records in Malaya as a result of the Pacific War. This was particularly the case for the education department, for the village school makes an ideal headquarters and barracks for an occupying army. On the other hand, undoubtedly more records exist than are at present readily available. The National Archives of Malaya is only ten years old, and is still in the process of gathering in such shreds of historical documentary evidence as can still be located and rescued, but this is necessarily a process which has to come second to the equally immense task of dealing with current records as they come in. My debt of gratitude to the Archives for its efficient and eager co-operation with my work is recorded already, but it is fitting to repeat it here.

### Sources of Information. (i) Documents and Secondary Sources in English.

Four main lines of approach were employed. Firstly, a study was made of official government records, in London and in Kuala Lumpur in order to get at the overall picture of the history of the Malayan school system, and the stated policy of government. Secondly, in Malaya a particular area was selected for closer study as a specific case, in order to obtain a degree of empathy with Malay attitudes to the educational provision of the time. Thirdly, individuals were sought out for interviews, in particular school teachers of the pre-war period. Fourthly, a sampling has been made of pre-war Malay writings, in particular the vernacular press, for attitudes to and opinions on the Malay school systems, and for discussion of the general development of Malay society. This accords with the central purpose of the original proposal, but it must be admitted that the original proposal was found to be more ambitious than the time and resources available for research warranted.

The official government records in London, originally kept by the Colonial Office, are now stored in the Public Records Office.(1) As far as Malaya and the present research topic is concerned, there are the Annual Reports of the Administration, the Annual Departmental Reports and the Government Gazettes. The Colonial Office Library itself also retains a collection of pre-war works on Malaya, now rarely available elsewhere, which gives a picture of the situation through contemporary eyes. In addition this library has a somewhat random collection of papers and press-cuttings bound together in three series known as Eastern Papers, Straits Settlement Papers and Malay States Papers. There is further collection of published material on Malaya in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

---

(1)For a catalogue, description, and explanations of Colonial Office Records now in the Public Record Office, see R.B. Pugh, The Records of the Colonial and Dominions Offices (H.M.S.O. London 1964).

London has the most complete collection of official reports on Malaya for the period under research, but to a great extent the same reports, with a few gaps, are now available in the National Archives of Malaya, where they are also more accessible to the researcher, since the reading facilities for the massive collection of material from the whole of British history at the Public Records Office are limited. In Malaya one can get almost individual attention from the archives staff. Malaya also has what remains, after the war period, of the more detailed departmental records and office files. The problem in Malaya is that the process of cataloguing and classifying is not yet complete, and the researcher, though he is given easy access to the records, often has to work through volumes of material which is irrelevant to his purpose, before he finds what he needs. This is a time-consuming occupation, and unless one has such time, it in necessary to attempt some informed system of sampling; prospecting rather than exhaustive examination. For example, in any one year the records of a State Secretariat will number as many as eight to ten thousand files, at present un-catalogued. Faced with such a volume of material, unless the researcher is dealing with a very limited time period, or unless he has been fortunate enough to have come across a specific reference, he can expend several days work and realise little valuable yield.

A further fact about the official records, which is particularly relevant to the present research, is their diminishing value for specific information as the years pass by. This may seem to be a paradox, but works in this way. When, in the early years, before 1900, there was only a handful of schools, each one was important enough to be listed in the general report on the Malay States. As the provision increases, the general report gives only summary statistics, and for more detail one has to look for the Departmental Report. But latterly even the departmental report gives only a general summary and statistical digest. Moreover, in the early years before official procedures were formalised, there was a pioneering spirit in the operations of government, and officers tended to be more discursive in their reporting. The prosaic record is enlivened by comment, opinion, and general observation, which are of immense value to the historian. As government became more efficient such freedom in reporting was discountenanced, reports became increasingly impersonal, and the historian has less chance to develop a stimulating dialogue with his material. The comment above may suggest an unscientific approach to research, but the contention is that the more flexible the material, the more amenable it is to analysis.

Much of the solid statistical material on Malaya before the war that certainly used to be available now no longer exists. Where statistical materials do exist they are by no means comparable over a period of years, so that it is not possible to build up a chronological table of development. For instance, Malaya had an official census every ten years from 1891 to 1931, but the earlier censuses were very rudimentary, while subsequent improvements mean that assessment bases are constantly changing, and it is only possible to follow general trends such as net population growth. More specific enquiry presents considerable difficulties. An example is the question of immigration to the peninsula of Malaysian people from Sumatra, which, as will be seen, is very relevant to this piece of research. As Tengku Shamsul Bahrin of the Geography Department of the University of Malaya has shown, although the various censuses attempted to record this, repeated redefinition of terms makes a comparison of the figures from census to census a problem.(2)

The reports of the Education Department present a similar problem, although during the 1930's the accompanying tables are very extensive. The drawback for the present piece of research has been that during the earlier years one can obtain scanty details about individual schools -- usually only enrolment and attendance figures -- while during the later period extensive facts are available about the whole operation of the department in general, but nothing can be found about the individual schools.

In summary, however, for the purposes of the present piece of research, it was found that satisfactory statistics -- that is to say the kind of statistical information that would form an acceptable support for a similar piece of research if undertaken today -- never in fact existed. This is born out by the complaint of a contemporary report, made by C.F. Strickland of the Indian Civil Service, who was commissioned to report on the co-operative movement in Malaya in 1929. "There is also in Malaya itself" he complained, "a remarkable lack of data on rural economic conditions, and little appears to have been done to collate and utilise these data where they do exist, save for the purpose of special crops or to meet exceptional emergencies."(3) Strickland's complaint in 1929 is doubly valid for the historian of today with depredations of a war intervening.

---

(2) Tengku Shamsul Bahrin, 'The Growth and Distribution of the Indonesian Population in Malaya', Bijdragen tot de Taat-, land-, en Volkenkunde Vol. 123, No. 2 (1957), pp. 267-286.

(3) C.F. Strickland, "Reports on Co-operation in Malaya," Federal Council Proceedings, 1929 (Appendix 26. Page C 387-407). Para 2.

(ii) Local Research. Selected Area.

Offical reports and records, then, can afford us general outlines, but for a closer picture of the problem under research somewhat closer study is required. It was decided to attempt this by making a local case study of a selected area. The idea was not that this would stand as a perfect example for the whole of British Malaya, but that individual example would at least afford the researcher greater understanding of the Malay predicament. In the limited time available it was not possible to make an exhaustive preliminary survey to select the best area for local survey. There were also certain other factors controlling the choice, one of which was that it would be more convenient to select an area fairly close to the capital of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, so that one base could be set up, and it would be possible to carry out the rural work, while at the same time being within easy reach of the National Archives and the research facilities of the University of Malaya library. Eventually the choice was fairly easily made.

The 1911 Census in Malaya was related to a Commonwealth wide census which sought certain comparable statistics from all the British territories. One of these was an assessment of literacy. The Superintendent of the Census, A.M. Pountney, discusses the problems which such a survey would present in Malaya at that date, in the preface to his report.(4) The eventual solution was to make a sample survey in one selected district of each of the four Federated Malay States, confining the survey to rural Malay households. The survey was carried out by personal visits from house to house by the Malay Penghulus, or District Heads. In the State of Selangor the district selected was Ulu Langat, an area of some 400 square miles, beginning ten miles south east of Kuala Lumpur and stretching to the border with the next State to the South, Negri Sembilan. At this date, Ulu Langat had a population of 12,770 Malays, 8,091 of whom lived in rural villages, or Kampongs. Only the bare figures survive; attempts to unearth the working papers on which the census was based, failed. The literacy figures are given as Males 17.22 per thousand, Females 0.62 per thousand. This is not very informative, but it provided the reason for selecting Ulu Langat as the area for more local research.

---

(4) A.M. Pountney, Report on the 1911 Census (Govt. Printer Singapore 1912), pp. 84-86. Also Selangor State Secretariat No. 2034/1911 on selection of Ulu Langat and conduct of survey.

Administratively, each State in Malaya is divided into a number of Districts, each District is divided into several Mukims, or, in the English analogy, Parishes. The smallest unit is the Kampong, or village. Ulu Langat is both the name of a District, to which the bare census figures above refer, and of a Mukim within that District, and of the principal kampong, in fact a small town by Malay standards, within the Mukim. The local research connected with this report was confined to the Mukim of Ulu Langat.

The Mukim of Ulu Langat lies on the northern border of the district. The core of Mukim was originally defined by the Langat river. (Ulu is comparable to English "Upper" in a sense of Upper Langat river.) Today, this core is defined by a modern road which almost parallels the course of the river. This road branches off the main road from Kuala Lumpur to the South at the ninth mile, enters the mukim, passes through Ulu Langat town at the 13 1/2 mile, and Dusun Tua, the second main centre at the 16th mile, then branching at the 18th mile. One branch follows the Langat river to Kampong Lubok Kelubi at the 19th mile and continuing to lesser settlements beyond; the other turns south along the tributary Lui river to Kampong Lui, after which it becomes a rougher track through to the further south.

Before the war, there were already four government Malay primary schools in this Mukim, at Ulu Langat from 1890, at Dusun Tua from 1909, at Bukit Raya from 1917, and at Lubok Kelubi from 1927. Bukit Raya was situated at the very beginning of the road, at the 10th mile. The village was a trouble spot during the post-war communist emergency and was partly displaced and partly resited at Batu Sembilan, or Ninth Mile Village, where the Ulu Langat road meets the main road. It is unfortunate that the only complete set of school records, headmaster's diary and pupil register, that could be located for the pre-war period, come from Bukit Raya school. These were found in the Headmaster's Office at Batu Sembilan. None of the other schools in the mukim, or for that matter, none of the other schools anywhere that I was able to visit, have managed to preserve their pre-war records. Thus, it was not possible in any instance to relate the accounts of my various informants in existing communities to the pre-war school records, and the Bukit Raya records were of value only as an example of the kind of thing such books must have contained.

In the circumstances, for information regarding the schools I had to rely entirely on the memories of my informants, which, where I did know the facts from an occasional document, were not always accurate. Besides this I was fortunate to 'discover' another source of information, in the pre-war files of the District Office at the town of Kajang, the District Headquarters. This was indeed a discovery, because until I began to make my enquiries, nobody seemed to have been conscious of the existence of these files. Indeed, at first, I was confidently told that no records prior to the war period were preserved. However, 'there might be' some 'stuff' in the old store round the back.

This room turned out to be a sort of office oubliette, and we soon realised that a large part of the piled and mouldering papers dated from before 1940. It was impossible to study them in situ, so the National Archives were informed and they were brought in to Kuala Lumpur; a further advantage of the decisions to carry out the research near to the capital. These files are in no sort of order at all, and it will now take several months to clean and arrange them. However, I was allowed to examine them as they came in, and it seems that the span of the files is complete from what must be the very first file of the office, No. 1 of 1884, up to 1935. I could find no files later than 1935, and the office today holds no files previous to 1946. The lost years 1935 to 1942 before the Japanese invasion are a mystery, because the store room also yielded what appears to be a complete set of files from the date of the Japanese take-over in 1942, until the return of the British.

The District Office files do not have much material directly dealing with education, except for the very early years until about 1909, when the District Officer was very much a general factotum, acting as agent and inspector for all aspects of government enterprise. As the Education Department builds up its own staff the District Office leaves the details of school administration more and more to the specialists. After 1909, the District Officer's reports no longer take notice of the progress of the schools. However, the files do give a general picture of the development of the district, and one is able to form some conception of the challenge posed to rural society by the spectacular developments of western colonial enterprise. This is very much the situation this research has attempted to re-create and describe; the Malay peasant in his kampong, at first living at the subsistence level, and 'out there,' down the river, the growing network of metalled roads with motor cars, of railways, of large rubber estates employing imported Indian labour, a modern tin mine, and all the machinery of efficient exploitation (in the non-pejorative, purely economic sense) and efficient administration. Between these two worlds education was intended to provide both a bridge, and an insulation.

### (iii) Personal Interviews.

At the village level, the approach was to seek individual interviews with likely informants, all senior members of the community. In this I was very fortunate in that the leadership of the Mukim has been with one family since 1905. From 1905 to 1932 the Penghulu was Haji Abdul Jalil, and from 1932 to 1963, the office was held by his son Haji Mohd. Noor, who is now living in retirement, and was able to give me considerable help in the location of other suitable informants. A younger brother of Haji Mohd. Noor, Haji Mohd. Nasr, is now elected

State Assemblyman for the mukim, an interesting example of the centre of influence gravitating to a different office with the change in political conditions. The present Penghulu is not a native of the Mukim.

The obvious selection of informants was to meet retired Ketua kampong, or village heads, school teachers, religious teachers, and those who now form their circle at the mosque, and at the coffee shops, the daily meeting places of the senior residents. One contact led to the suggestion of others; in some communities it quickly became clear that certain individuals were regarded as the grand old men who knew all about the past. Inevitably some interviewees were very difficult to handle, either very reticent, or very unsure of their memories and self-contradictory, while others were interested and helpful. Ultimately my account has been built up from the interviews and repeat interviews of a small number of the most helpful, each contributing what he could to complete the picture. No sort of common questionnaire was attempted; instead the individual informant was encouraged to provide whatever he could according to his own competence. This is not to suggest that the interviews were unplanned, for before the local work began, I had already completed my general study of the development of the Malay schools, and I was pursuing certain very definite lines of inquiry, and had a set of suggestions to which I wanted the answers; flexibility, on the other hand, keeps the interviews open ended, and adaptable to unanticipated but fruitful turns in the discussion.

The same method was followed in seeking out other informants who could give useful information, or express valuable opinions, about the pre-war educational situation generally. Certain names were already known to me before I arrived in Malaya, persons such as Tuan Syed Nasir bin Ismail, now head of the National Language Institute, who had been a Malay Inspector of Schools in Johore before the war, and Dato Zainal Abidin bin Ahmed, Head of the Translation Bureau before the war, and before his retirement Chairman of the Department of Malay Studies at the University of Malaya. But besides notables such as this, I also sought interviews with as many retired schoolteachers as possible, ordinary men with undistinguished, though worthy, careers. Again one introduction led to others, and again the capital and its environs proved a good hunting ground, since, with the post-war national language policy, the well-trained pre-war Malay school teacher has been in great demand with various government, commercial -- especially publishing -- and diplomatic offices, as an adviser or translator.

### (iv) Malay writings. Journals, Newspapers, etc.

In much the same category as the interviews, from the point of view of material obtained, comes the fourth main line of approach to this research, pre-war Malay writings. The best collection of these is at the Library of the University of Malaya, which has been at pains to build up sets of pre-war Malay newspapers and periodicals. There is a a wealth of material here, though few of the collections are complete.(5) Indeed, with a few adjustments to the basic proposal the research could have been conceived as a study of Malay education as recorded and expressed in the pre-war Malay vernacular press and pre-war stories and essays.

I experienced initial difficulty with this reading matter, since my study of Malay before coming to Malaya had been mainly modern Malay as spoken in Indonesia -- Indonesian and Malay are essentially the same language -- and in Roman script, which is now commonly used. In the first place, before the war, except for some official government publications, Malay used a form of Arabic script known as Jawi, which I had to master. Besides this, I was not prepared for the considerable (for a non-Malay) differences, in usages and style that I found in the language. Indeed, taking for example the pages of *Majallah Guru*, a teacher's magazine produced monthly from 1922 to 1941, Malay expression in 1941 had changed considerably from the style of 1922. This however is a fact which is of particular relevance to the research topic itself, and, though I cannot pretend to linguistic analysis, it will be referred to later. The development of the Malay language was a major topic of discussion and debate among Malay leaders, and is closely related to the general theme of social and political progress.

Before closing this section, I should mention that the Ministry of Education itself has no records from the pre-war period. The State Education Office for Selangor has also lost any records it had. This almost complete lack of substantial local records accounts for the perhaps overly subjective nature of this piece of research, and the more general terms in which the findings have to be presented.

---

(5) W.R. Roff, *A Guide to Malay Periodicals, 1876-1941* (Singapore 1961). A Catalogue of known holdings in Malaya and Singapore. Due to Dr. Roff's own energies, the collections of the University of Malaya have much improved since this catalogue was published. Also the National Archives of Malaya has opened with a further useful collection.

## IV. THE MALAY PENINSULA, prior to 1940.

### (i) General Introduction

It is necessary at this point to give a brief historical outline of the political development of British Malaya during the period under research. In 1940, the peninsula was a conglomerate of three types of government; Penang, a British base since 1786, Singapore, founded by Raffles in 1819, and Malacca, acquired from the Dutch in 1824, formed the Crown Colony of the Straits Settlements. This had remained the extent of direct British control until 1874, when on the grounds of the disturbed conditions of the Malay States of the peninsula, the British engineered treaties with three of the States, Perak, Selangor, and Sungei Ujong, by which administrative power passed into the hands of an official known as the British Resident, while the Malay rulers of these states were confirmed in their positions, but confined to authority only in matters of the Muslim Religion. In 1888, Pahang was added to the list, while during the same period a group of nine smaller territories, of which Sungei Ujong mentioned above was one, were consolidated to form the State of Negri Sembilan, a process which was completed by a confederacy agreement between the Malay chiefs at the instance of the British Resident in 1895. In 1896, these four states, Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang, were brought together as the Federated Malay States (F.M.S.). Administrative control of this Federation was essentially in the hands of a British Resident-General, who resided in Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, where a Federal Secretariat was set up.

By 1940, five other Malay states of the peninsula had come under British Protection; Johore in 1885, and the four northern states -- which had previously been under Siamese domination -- Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, and Trengganu, in 1909, as a result of an Anglo-Siamese treaty. A sixth Malay state, Patani, remains part of Thailand to this day. These other five states were not brought into the Federation, and were known as the Unfederated Malay States (U.M.S.); nevertheless, each one severally had a British adviser appointed to the Sultan, and a nucleus of British Administrative Officers.

Since the research for this study was carried out in particular in the State of Selangor, we are concerned here primarily with the Federated Malay States. But the currents of western influence and development processes, though emanating from Kuala Lumpur, and strongest in the F.M.S., were not interrupted by State boundaries, and much of what the report contains can be applied to whole peninsula. For example certain facilities, such as the Sultan Idris Malay Teachers' Training College, set up in Perak in 1922, were available to all the States, and even to trainees from British North Borneo and Brunei, although of course the prime beneficiaries were the F.M.S.

The best study of the constitutional development of the F.M.S. and U.M.S. is still Professor Rupert Emerson's Malaysia, first published in

1937.(1) It is a complex story which is also dealt with in less detail in a number of standard texts on Malayan history. The central theme can be summarised as the problem of the relationship between the Malay States whose status was symbolised by the maintenance of the dignity and the offices of their individual Sultans, and British rule, in the hands of the High Commissioner resident in Singapore. The tendency throughout the period is towards greater centralisation of control, which necessarily meant a sapping of the power of the Malay rulers, yet this was accompanied and accomplished it could be argued, by further elevation of their status. The whole topic can still bear discussions and analysis,(2) but need not be entered into here in any great detail, since the purpose of this research is to observe developments as seen from the bottom, from the point of view of the Malay kampong. From this position the higher theme of centralisation or decentralisation, or the precise significance of the title given to the senior British Officer in Kuala Lumpur, whether Resident-General or Chief Secretary, had little meaning.

It is, however, of central importance to realise the official British position that these states were Malay States. The theme is most forcefully expressed in Sir Hugh Clifford's words to the Federal Council in Kuala Lumpur, on his appointment to the office of High Commissioner in 1927; ". . . these States are, and must for ever remain essentially and primarily Malay States; (that) the public servants to whom is entrusted the task of administering and developing them, and the unofficial sections of our heterogeneous population who have made these lands their temporary or permanent home, must be ever mindful of this fact."(3) It was a necessary assertion, and one which could be disputed.

Hand in hand with the rapid economic development of the Malay peninsula from the 1880's onwards, development based on the exploitation of tin deposits, and subsequently on the planting of rubber, Malaya had experienced a massive influx of immigrants. Large scale tin-mining was carried on by Chinese entrepreneurs based on Singapore and Penang, who imported Chinese labour from the homeland. Rubber on the other hand was largely a western enterprise, and came to rely on Indian estate labour. The Government itself added to the ranks of Indian origin by employing Ceylonese Tamils from Jaffna as skilled workers, and above all in the clerical grades of the administrative service. At the same time there was a considerable influx of 'other

---

(1) Rupert Emerson, Malaysia, A Study in Direct and Indirect Rule (New York 1937, Republished Kuala Lumpur 1966).

(2) Prof. J. Norman Palmer of Ohio University is preparing a new history of Malaya with much careful re-interpretation and analysis of the documentary evidence.

(3) Proceedings of the Federal Council, 16 November 1927. p. B. 112.

Malaysians' from Java and Sumatra.(4) In fact, the political separation of Sumatra from peninsula Malaya by Anglo-Dutch agreement, a recognition of colonial spheres of influence formalised by treaty in 1824, artificially divided the Malay world into two, a separation which has never really been socially or culturally meaningful to Malay eyes'.

According to the census figures for 1931, the last official census before the Pacific War, the racial composition of the F.M.S., whose total population was 1,713,096, was 26% Malay, 9% Other Malaysian, 40% Chinese, 21% Indian, and 4% European.(5) The weight of the Chinese and Indian population however is misleading, for a large majority of these were transients, labourers who would eventually return to their homelands. The "Other Malaysians," on the other hand, were mostly true immigrants and settlers. Thus, any survey based upon assessing how many persons actually regarded Malaya as their home at this period, a question it would be difficult to frame meaningfully or guage accurately, would certainly have put the Malays and Other Malaysians in the majority. At the same time, it is obvious that the Chinese and Indians, as a community, had a growing stake in the country, and they contributed the major share of its export productivity.

Chinese and Indian immigration was related to specific activities, and this division of occupations along racial lines in Malaya is reflected in the urban as compared with rural ethnic composition of the Malayan population. The Pacific War set the seal on the social composition of the Malayan population by virtually stopping the migration of non-Malay people. 1957 Census Figures, therefore, reflect the result of the situation which was being evolved during the pre-war period. For the whole of the Malay States, we get the following picture:(6)

| | Malays | Chinese | Indians | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| % of Urban Population | 19.4 | 67.8 | 10.2 | N.B. Balance to 100% completed by Europeans, Eurasians & Others. |
| % of Rural Population | 70 | 17 | 11 | |
| % of Total Population | 49.8 | 37.2 | 11.3 | |

---

(4) Tengku Shamsul Bahrin, Bijdragen 123/2 (1967).

(5) Based on Census Report 1931, Table I.

(6) As already noted, Malaya had regular Census every ten years from 1891 on. The last census before the Japanese invasion was in 1931. This was also the first really thorough modern census. The 1941 census was postponed, and put into effect in 1947. This was followed by a very thorough Census in 1957. The Government of Malaysia is now planning a census for 1970.

It should be noted that the Indians here recorded as rural population would be estate labourers, not peasants settlers like the Malays. Rural Chinese also are not peasant settlers, but small scale tin-miners or market gardeners.

### (ii) The Colonial Education System, British Policy.

The School system in Malaya reflected the disjointed political and social situation. There were in fact four blocks, only tenuously related to each other. Western economic and administrative interests demanded an English medium school system, with both primary and secondary schools. This grew up in response to the need in particular for clerical workers, and the demand for courses to qualify for such positions. In the second place, the Colonial Government assumed responsibility for the basic education of the native population, which, in the case of Malaya, meant the Malays. But the 1930's, a basic four year Malay school system had been created, with schools in some places having a fifth standard. There was no secondary provision directly related to this course, and the only further education in Malay was the teacher training course, which led back to service in the primary schools.

The Government did not feel itself responsible for the education of the Chinese, so that community had to make its own arrangements for Chinese education. This in fact the Chinese took to with increasing enthusiasm, especially after the Nationalist Revolution of 1911. In 1920 however, largely because of the political influence of the Chinese, a system of registration coupled with a scheme for grants-in-aid was introduced, to keep the Chinese schools under surveillance.

Indian estate labourers also were not considered to be the direct concern of the Government, but from 1923 estates were required to maintain schools for the children of the work force.

Paradoxically, in view of the Government's attitude that in the primary field they should only be directly concerned with the Malays, the English medium secondary schools were mainly an advantage for the Chinese and Indians. In 1938, in the F.M.S. there were 21 Government English Boys' Schools, 13 Aided Boys' Schools and 13 Aided Girls' Schools. Enrolment in these schools was 984 European or Eurasians, 3592 Malays, 9126 Chinese, 5228 Indians and 215 Others.(7) One of the reasons for this racial balance was that English schools were situated in the towns, and presented problems of attendance for the rural Malay pupil unless hostel facilities could be provided. To the urban Chinese, and the child of an Indian government clerk, they posed no such difficulty.

---

(7) Annual Report by the Director of Education, F.M.S. for 1938, p. 169. (This was the latest of the Education Reports available in the collection of Malayan Archives.)

For proper appreciation of the situation one should consider Malaya before the war as two worlds;(8) a modernising, developing world of growing towns and cities connected by an increasingly efficient road and rail system, dedicated to exploitation of Malaya's economic resources, and geared to the world market; and set apart from this the world of the rural peasant settler, whose life was certainly improving as a result of the general development and advance of the country, benefitting from improved communications, improved health measures, and aids to better living, but only as these were filtered down from above. But the second world was not directly related to the first. The education system as it developed was directly governed by this situation, for the English schools and secondary schools were designed to provide the educated manpower required for the first world, while the vernacular schools were designed to strengthen rural resistance to disruptive challenges from without. This is the policy suggested by the often-quoted remarks of the Chief Secretary of the F.M.S., Sir W.G. Maxwell from his annual report for 1920. "The aim of the Government is not to turn out a few well-educated youths, nor a number of less well-educated boys; rather it is to improve the bulk of the people, and to make the son of the fisherman or peasant a more intelligent fisherman or peasant than his father had been, and a man whose education will enable him to understand how his own lot in life fits in with the scheme of things around him."(9)

It is with this "improvement of the bulk of the people" that this research is particularly concerned, and in particular with the discrepancy between the government's concept of improvement, and the Malay's appreciation of the meaning of the term. The background theme is the spectacular development of 'colonial' Malaya, and its increasingly forceful impact on rural life, while at the same time the employment opportunities it afforded were strictly limited, so that avenues of recruitment from the village to the western secondary schools had necessarily to be slender and limiting. Yet the creation of village schools, essentially western in curriculum, though restricted in their pretensions and purpose and exclusively vernacular, gave impetus to Malay development. It will be the contention of this study that the vernacular school system of British Malaya acted like an educational pressure cooker, speeding up the development process because of its confining nature. The example of Ulu Langat mukim will be used to suggest the lines along which this development was taking place.

---

(8)This interpretation of a similar colonial situation was developed in the researcher's own, unpublished, M.A. thesis, "Aspects of a Sub-Colonial History of Ceylon," (M.A. Wisconsin, 1966).

(9)Annual Report on the Administration of the Federated Malay States for 1920.

## ULU LANGAT, SELANGOR(1)

### (i) Introduction.

The small Malay town of Ulu Langat lies on the Langat river, whose estuary into the Malacca straits is some fifty miles, in a direct line, to the south-west. The river itself meanders considerably, so that the distance by boat from the estuary must be more than double this. However, the settlement at Ulu Langat marked the furthest point to which small Malay *perahu's* could navigate, and in Malay terms, during the nineteenth century there was a small inland port there.

The District Office for Ulu Langat district, that is to say the district defined by the passage through it of the Upper Langat river,

---

(1) This brief history is based on study of the files discovered in District Office at Kajang. These files were in a state of total disarray and decay. Many of them were half eaten by termites, or partially destroyed by mould. It is not always therefore possible to be sure of the accuracy of the file reference, which in many cases was totally obliterated. The files appeared to comprise six main series:

| | |
|---|---|
| District Office files | (D.O.U.L.) |
| Land Office files | (U.L.Lds.) |
| Sanitary Board files | (S.B.U.L.) |
| Magistrate's Court files | (U.L.Cts.) |
| Files relating to the Rubber Restriction Ordinance of 1923 | (U.L.R.R.) |
| and Confidential files | (Conf.) |

However, it seems that, as the District Officer himself was the responsible officer in each of these categories, there was not always a clear understanding of which function of the administration covered certain matters. The abbreviations above will be used in any reference to these files, and care has been taken to give the correct numerical reference wherever possible. E.g. D.O.U.L. 6/91 would mean the sixth file opened by the District Office, Ulu Langat, in 1891. Since the earliest file found was D.O.U.L. 1/84, this is clearly for 1884, while #/01, #/10, #/20 etc. refer to 1901, 1910, 1920 etc.

was first opened in 1884.(2) The State of Selangor, in which this district lies, had come under British protection ten years previously. The district headquarters was at Kajang, a centre on the route south -- there was no road at this time -- towards the borders of the State of Negri Sembilan. Kajang was a small town of 60 Houses, with a population of 23 Malay householders, 18 Chinese and 2 Indians.(3) Ulu Langat appears to have been considerably larger, and it was not chosen for the administrative centre no doubt because it was not so central. It was a Malay settlement of 150 houses, and a population of about 400 persons, according to the District Officer's estimate.(4) It was in fact the largest centre of population in the district, according to a rudimentary initial census of Selangor taken during that year.(5) Among these 400 persons were included thirty-seven Sakai, Malayan aboriginals, who were withdrawing into the jungles as Malay colonisation and settlement advanced.

The State of Selangor had recently experienced six years of civil war, between 1868 and 1873, which had caused considerable depopulation.(6) With the restoration of peace, and the settled conditions effected by the British administration, the population began to grow again. For Ulu Langat this took the form of settlement of Malaysians from Sumatra, mainly of Mandahiling or Minangkabau origin. Initially this was stimulated by the encouragement of Yap Ah Loy the Chinese Towkay (Boss) of the tin-mining settlement at Kuala Lumpur, who needed food supplies for his labour force.(7) Eventually the movement acquired its own momentum, pioneer Sumatran settlers undertaking to open up new lands, and bringing across their kinsmen to aid them. Such immigrant leaders were known as Dato Dagang.(8)

---

(2) See DOUL 191/84. First Annual Report of the Acting Collector and Magistrate. The title 'Collector' was later replaced by 'District Officer,' or D.O., which will be uniformly used here for simplicity.

(3) D.O.U.L. 10/84.

(4) D.O.U.L. 61/84.

(5) Selangor Secretariat Files 1135/84.

(6) Recounted by A. Talib bin Haji Ahmad, Perang Saudara di-Selangor (Kuala Lumpur 1962). See also J.M. Gullick, A History of Selangor (Singapore 1960), Chapter Four.

(7) Gullick, Selangor, p. 76.

(8) Dato' is a Malay title indicating seniority and authority. It is also used for Grandfather, and therefore has a kinship connotation. Dagang literally means 'trade,' but has also connotations of travelling, and 'foreign.' Thus 'Orang Dagang,' or 'trading people,' was often used to mean simply foreigners, i.e. Chinese and Europeans. A more accurate term for foreigner is Orang Asing. It is significant that in Malay writings before about 1930 Orang Dagang generally referred to foreign Malays, Sumatrans and Javanese. From 1930 onwards when the term is used it more often means Chinese, Indians, or Europeans, but the term Orang Asing becomes more common for these.

One of the first jobs of the District Officer was to select the Malay *Penghulus*, or *Mukim* heads, and delineate their areas of authority. This was generally a matter of locating the existing Malay leader, so long as he was capable.(9) For Ulu Langat the Penghulu was Raja Daud, an old warrior who had controlled this area during the civil war. Raja Daud held office until his death in 1899, but towards the end he was not able to cope with the work required of a Penghulu under the new regime, and had to be supplied with an Assistant, a Malay writer from the Government Office of Kajang. This man, Penghulu Hassan, succeeded Daud in 1899.(10) The succession of Hassan, appointed because of his literacy and clerical ability, marks a significant change in the nature of the office of Penghulu, which became a government appointment based on administrative skill, and no longer by virtue of hereditary or warrior leadership.

Initially, however, men like Raja Daud who commanded the respect of their people served their purpose well, for if like Daud their loyalty to the British Administration could be secured, their influence could be used to back many development schemes. Daud's term of office saw the opening of the first road through Ulu Langat to Sungei Lui where, in the early 1890's there was a small tin mining rush, which brought about a rapid rise in population and settlment in the mukim. The District Officer's reports in 1894(11) that the population had risen to 1764, mostly Malays of 'foreign extraction': 386 Minangkabau, 50 from Kuantan in Pahang, 133 Rawahs, 194 Mandahilings, 288 from Kampar, 150 Javanese, 311 from Rembau, 43 from Jempol, and 189 'Various.' It is an interesting comment on the attitudes of the time that even though they come from not so distant parts of the peninsula itself, Kampar, Rembau, Jempol, these people are all accounted 'foreigners.' The report notes in particular that these were mostly settlers, in particular the Menangkabaus and Mandahilings who were seeking land for *sawahs* -- rice fields.

Most of this settlment was due to the encouragement and initiative of Raja Daud himself,(12) but in other matters of government the old warrior was unable to cope. The Indian dresser responsible for vaccinations in the district complains of lack of co-operation from the *Penghulu*, who is never present to encourage his people to come forward. "He makes me to rove like a dog amidst pressing work at the Hospital."(13) Daud is last seen in his element in 1892 when there was a scare of invasion from the neighbouring State of Pahang and he led a force of men to build a stockade to block the invasion route.(14) The old warrior fortunately never got his battle.

---

(9) DOUL 55/84.

(10) DOUL 557/98, 818/99

(11) DOUL 1748/94

(12) DOUL 191/85

The District Officer's Report for July 1895 sums up the change coming about in the administration of the Malay rural areas, a change which was to affect the educational needs of the population: "Raja Daud," he writes,

> "at Ulu Langat, is a nice, courteous old man, but of scarcely any use at all. He cannot write, and is addicted to opium; all he wants is to be left alone. The Penghulu who cannot write and is not very keen on routine work may have been all that was wanted ten years ago, but now what with Regulations, orders, circulars etc. etc. a District Officer finds it of the utmost assistance to have intelligent, energetic Penghulus, who can write -- i.e. men like Zain-al-abidin of Kapar, for although men of this class are really more 'government clerks' than 'Penghulus' in the Malay sense of the work penghulu, yet considering that the vast bulk of the Malayan natives who are opening up the country to agriculture are foreigners, this class of man really serves the native interest sufficiently, I believe, at the same time being a far far greater assistance to the District Officer."(15)

Clearly the pen is replacing the sword as a mark of authority. According to a report in 1896, Raja Daud was the only remaining illiterate Penghulu in the district.(16) In the same report, the District Officer comments on his need for capable Malay writers. 'District officers have often complained that there are no openings for intelligent school-boys, but when I write to the Inspector of Schools asking him to find me a passed school boy for the post of Malay writer at $10 a month, he is unable to do so.' In fact, it seems that such was the development of the demand for those with even minimum schooling during this period of rapid ramification of administrative control and commercial development, boys were tempted to leave schools before properly completing the course. 'Boys of twelve years of age,' according to the District Annual Report for 1892, 'can always find employment, therefore they leave school just when they are able to learn something, having mastered the difficulties of reading and clear writing.'(17)

---

(13) DOUL 1030/91.

(14) DOUL 104/92, 895/92.

(15) DOUL 802/95. Note: This is an example of the kind of free ranging comment which is not to be found in reports after 1905. Later reports are not permitted to stray from the bureaucratic formal record; there is little in them to enliven the skeleton account.

(16) DOUL 875/96.

(ii) Schooling in Ulu Langat.

The origins of Ulu Langat school are not very clear from the existing records. A file from 1888 reports that there was a school at Ulu Langat, the only school in the district, with 18 pupils in Standard One, 9 in Standard Two, and 4 in Standard Three.(18) It is not clear whether this school failed, or what its status was, but in 1890 the whole question of the Ulu Langat school was taken up again by the District Officer, and a search was made for a suitable headmaster.(19) Plans were put in hand for a new school house, but it seems that this was not completed until 1893, when the District Officer writes to inform the Inspector of Schools that he has taken over the building, and asks for a supply of books and writing materials.(20) No papers exist to fill in the gaps in this story.

The schoolmaster found for Ulu Langat in 1890 was a Malay from Malacca; the file reports that there were 30 pupils ready to attend. No further information is given, but in the same year there is a file on the appointment of a schoolmaster at Cheras, nearby, which gives an idea of the kind of man who was being employed to teach at this time. Kassim, who applied for the post at Cheras,(21) was something of a freelance. He had taught in Singapore at a Malay school, where he was paid on a capitation basis. He had then gone to Perak as interpreter on a British gunboat in 1874. With the settlement of Perak's affairs he had become a customs officer in Perak, then followed his British superior, or patron, who left government service to become a mining prospector in Selangor. After six years as a mining overseer, he fell sick and moved to Malacca to recuperate with relations. From this he went to Kuala Lumpur and got a job in a Government Office as a Malay writer. It was from this post that he was applying for the position of schoolmaster. Though his age is not given, one gets the impression that he sees this as a less exacting job on the eve of his retirement. In another case, a candidate had in the year before applied for the post of teacher at Semenyih.(22) The file on this applicant notes that he had had no previous teaching experience, but had worked as a Clerk in Singapore and Sungei Ujong. He spoke Malay, Tamil and 'a little English.' It is significant that he was, in the terms already suggested, a 'foreign Malay.' As late as 1923, the comment was made that the majority of Malay teachers in the F.M.S. were 'foreigners,' and often at odds with the village elders.(23)

---

(17) DOUL 32/93 (Report for 1892). The same comment is made by Raja Bot, Malay Inspector of Schools, in a report to the District Officer made in 1890. 974/90. Three years provide enough literacy for a pupil to earn $8 a month. Parents were reluctant to keep boys in school after the age of 13.

(18) DOUL 193/88.

(19) DOUL 195/90, 670/90.

(20) DOUL 84/93.

(21) DOUL 511/90.

The career of Kassim reminds one very much of Munshi Abdullah, Malay tutor to Sir Stamford Raffles, whose autobiography, the Hikayat Abdullah, together with other works of his, form the best descriptions of Malay life in the earlier nineteenth century.(24) Munshi Abdullah has a chapter on his formal education in Malacca at Koranic school, and his own efforts to learn languages, which is the standard reference for an account of how an interested person could acquire literacy and clerical skills before the establishment of a modern school system. In the early years of British rule the demand for such primarily self-educated people was considerable, and their opportunities legion.

The Ulu Langat files afford another example of this in the person of Raja Alang, who seems to have been the District Officer's right-hand man in the field at this period. Raja Alang was also a 'foreign' Malay, a Mandahiling, who had had elementary schooling in Malacca and Singapore but was mostly self-taught and self-trained. He had joined the service of the Selangor Government in 1883 as a Forest Ranger and became Chief Ranger by 1889. The question of his career came up in 1893 when the District Officer wanted to appoint him to be a Land Settlement Officer, and pointed out his intimate knowledge of the district and good influence over the Malay population generally.(25) There is a file for 1889 in which the District Officer applies on Raja Alang's behalf for 'a book from which he can learn English,' with a reply from the Resident Selangor that at that time there was no suitable book to be had.(26)

---

(22) DOUL ??/89

(23) 44th Interim Report of the Retrenchment Committee on Education Federal Council Papers No. 15 of 1923, p. 140.

(24) Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munshi, Hikayat Abdullah (Kuala Lumpur 1966). First published Singapore 1849. English Translation available in Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 28/3 (1955).

(25) DOUL 48/84, 557/93.

(26) DOUL 92/89.

Undoubtedly these early years were years of opportunity for Malayans with any degree of ability to read and write. But since the school system in the F.M.S. was only in its infancy, such opportunities were rapidly taken up by men like Raja Alang and Mohd. Kassim who were not locals, and who had gained the necessary skills by their own efforts elsewhere, usually in Singapore and Malacca. But the demand for such men was far greater than the supply, and this created the situation in which the British imported their junior assistants from further afield, from lands where British rule was of longer standing and there existed a pool of trained men ready to be drawn upon. For Malaya the chief supplier was Ceylon, where in the north in particular the Tamils of the Jaffna peninsula had enjoyed a high standard of western schooling since the 1820's. It was not surprising to find that the first man 'on the spot' in the Kajang district office, before the District Officer took up residence -- initially he lived in Kuala Lumpur and doubled as Selangor Inspector of Police -- was a Jaffna Tamil named Packiam Pillay. There was no resident District Officer until 1890.(27) Even the keeper of the Government Rest House at Dusun Tua was a Sinhalese.

It was not until about 1910 that the F.M.S. began to be in a position to supply the bulk of these newly created posts from its own schools,(28) but by that time the foreigners, Tamils from Ceylon in particular, had already established themselves as a community whose special purpose was Government service. Sons of fathers who knew the work, brought up in the new urban centres where the best schools were readily accessible, had a considerable advantage over the rural Malay for whom entry in Government service was also adaptation to an entirely new way of life, involving a new range of social dimensions. The fact that the office was already staffed by non-Malays did not help the Malay to fit in with its organisation. A list of the clerical staff in the Ulu Langat District office in Kajang in 1921 gives a good example of the situation; the Chief Clerk was a Chinese, and of the seven other clerks, five were Tamils, one a Chinese, and only one, the most junior, a Malay. Of the total staff of nineteen, ten were Malays, but apart from the one clerk mentioned aoove, and the Malay interpreter, all the others were subordinate staff, 'peons' (office servants) or notice servers.(29)

---

(27) DOUL 430/90. This in fact refers to a very interesting letter from W.E. Maxwell (later Sir William Maxwell) to the first resident District Officer, A. Kayser, outlining the duties of the office.

(28) E.W. Birch, Resident Perak in his Annual Report for 1907, para 23, ". . . for the first time in the history of the State, we have been in a position to fill our local clerical service with boys born and educated in the country, and to bring into our offices a fair proportion of English speaking Malays." Ulu Langat files of this date still contain a number of applications from freelance foreigners seeking clerical posts. e.g. 202/08, Tengku Raja Sutan, a Minangkabau from Sumatra, applies for the post of a Malay Writer, or a Penghulu.

---

(29) DOUL 590/1921. One should note here that by 1923, while the office staff retained a comparable composition, apart from the British District Officer, the other three Malayan Civil Service Officers in the District were all Malays; this reflects a growing social split in Malay society which will be discussed later.

## THE BASIS OF THE SYSTEM, 1900-1918.

### (i) Collinge, Wilkinson and the Foundations of a system.

The formation of the Federated Malay States in 1895 was symbolic of the rationalisation of the new order in Malaya. From the date of British intervention in the Malay States in 1874 until about 1900, a period of a quarter of a century, developments in the Malay States occurred somewhat haphazardly, dependent in most cases on the enterprise of individuals on the spot. But at the turn of the century one can discern a new purposefulness and sense of direction developing.

It has already been shown that in the early years demand for skilled and qualified assistants outran local supply. But 1900 efforts were well under way to supply this deficiency. In 1891, Selangor had been the first State to pass a Compulsory Education Ordinance, which applied to Malays.(1) Any Malay boy between the ages of seven and fourteen living within two miles of a Malay school could be required by the Penghulu to attend. An Ulu Langat file of that year, however, contains a memorandum from the Inspector of Schools advising the District Officer to be most circumspect in the application of this law, since no one was sure of what the Malay reactions would be. Moreover, even where schools existed, the accommodation was not always sufficient.(2)

A table from the Annual Report on Education for 1901, sums up the situation as regards Government Schools for the year 1900.(3)

| State | English Schools | | Vernacular Schools | | English Enrolment | | Vernacular Enrolment | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls |
| Perak | 12 | 4 | 93 | 10 | 707 | 180 | 3374 | 184 |
| Selangor | 5 | 2 | 32 | 2 | 575 | 118 | 1286 | 50 |
| Negri Sembilan | 1 | - | 24 | - | 49 | - | 1169 | - |
| Pahang | - | - | 10 | - | - | - | 431 | - |

---

(1) Selangor Regulation V of 1891. Similar Regulations were passed for Negri Sembilan in 1900, Pahang in 1908, and Perak in 1916. Perak, which had led the other states in educational development, long relied on the encouragement of Koranic classes in schools instead of compulsion, the policy of its pioneer Inspector of Schools, H.B. Collinge. See 'Report on Vernacular Education in Perak' No. 7 in Perak Government Gazette for 1895, by Collinge.

(2) DOUL 663/91

(3) Annual Report on Education in the F.M.S. 1901. para 50.

At this time there was as yet only one school in Ulu Langat mukim, at Ulu Langat itself. An interesting sidelight on the compulsory attendance Regulation appears in one of the files for this year. The School attendance at Ulu Langat had dropped because about 25 boys from Dusun Tua, the growing settlement further up river, had dropped out. It seems that because they lived more than two miles from the school the District Officer had ruled that the Penghulu was not empowered to order their attendance. Somehow their parents had interpreted this as meaning that their children were forbidden to attend.(4) The misunderstanding was resolved, but a few years later, in 1903, the Penghulu advised the District Officer that Dusun Tua was now populous enough for its own school. The Inspector of Schools expected to be able to gather as many as 40 pupils, to warrant the opening of a new school, while the Penghulu would guarantee at least 25, but pointed out that the population was rising rapidly.(5) A new school at Dusun Tua was finally opened early in 1907, and the District Officer notes that there was already a demand for another school 'further up the valley.'(6) The school began with forty-eight pupils. In spite of demands, those further up the valley had to wait another twenty years before the Government saw fit to open another school for them.

Educational policies regarding the Malays and the vernacular school system during this period were greatly influenced by the pioneering work of H.B. Collinge, who was Inspector of Schools for Perak from 1890 to 1906, and R.J. Wilkinson, well known as a Malay Scholar, who was Inspector of Schools for the F.M.S. from 1903 to 1906. It was Collinge's excellent groundwork in Perak, relying on the attraction of providing koranic classes, a policy derived from the earlier example of A.M. Skinner in Penang and Province Wellesley,(7) that explains why Perak introduced compulsory education so late (1916). It became Perak tradition that with adequate incentives and attractions compulsion would be unnecessary, and also undesirable. Collinge reported in 1891, the year in which Selangor introduced compulsion "Koran teachers have been appointed at nearly all the Malay schools, and their appointment is very clearly producing the desired effect. Penghulus all over the country [i.e. Perak State] are now asking for schools."(8) Indeed, when in 1894 the Penghulus themselves began to ask for compulsory education, this was turned down by the Perak authorities, on the grounds that Koran classes and 'gentle persuasion' were 'far more effective.'(9)

---

(4) DOUL 125/01.

(5) DOUL 462/03, DOUL 50/04.

(6) DOUL 18/07.

(7) D.D. Chelliah, A short history of Educational Policy in the Straits Settlements (K.L. 1947, Singapore 1960 Reprinted), p. 62, Skinner took over responsibility for the schools in Province Wellesley in 1871.

(8) Perak Government Gazette 1891, p. 214.

Collinge's Report on Vernacular Education in Perak, completed for the Resident in 1895, is the first thorough survey and explanation of the vernacular school system for any of the states, contained in the official records.(10) Collinge was clearly of the opinion that Malay education was entirely separate in purpose from English medium education, which should be reserved for Malays of the raja class. The purpose of the school was to 'awake intelligence,' make the pupil 'less lazy' at home and 'more dutiful,' to instil respect for the vernacular, and provide good clerks to help the Penghulu. Schools were also to act as 'centres for the communication of news and information eagerly gleaned from the columns of the Malay newspapers supplied,' as centres for the distribution of medicines, and generally to assist the propaganda efforts of the District Office. Collinge's influence was not limited to Perak, for in 1897, he was called to Negri Sembilan to advise on setting the schools there in order,(11) in 1898 he advised the first Federal Inspector of Schools on the drafting of an education code(12) and in 1905, he served as Acting Inspector for the F.M.S. during the absence on leave of Wilkinson.

R.J. Wilkinson, who was Inspector of Schools for the Federated Malay States from 1903 to 1906 was the man really responsible for the nature of Malay vernacular schools during the first twenty years of the present century. Although he held the office of Inspector of Schools for only three years, his interest in and concern for Malay affairs made him the leading Malay scholar of his time, and his influence on education for Malays continued throughout his career. He agreed with Collinge on the basic purpose of Malay vernacular education, as is shown in a minute of his to the High Commissioner after he had discussed the common problems of Malay schools with Ophuijsen, the Dutch Inspector from Sumatra. Of the Dutch system he wrote, "It is principally directed to the task of raising the intelligence rather than increasing the actual learning of the native population. It gives no technical training and no higher literary scholarship but is based upon a thorough knowledge of the Malay's mental capacity."(13)

---

(9) Perak Government Gazette 1894, p. 204.

(10) No. 7 in Perak Government Gazette for 1895.

(11) Annual Report, Negri Sembilan 1897, para 43.

(12) F.M.S. Annual Report for 1898, p. 28.

(13) Minute by R.J. Wilkinson, File of the High Commissioner's Office, Kuala Lumpur, No. 758/1898.

Wilkinson was primarily responsible for the compilation of a series of Papers on Malay Subjects, dealing with Malay literature, Law, History, Life and Customs, and Industries, written to provide British Government Officers with a proper understanding of the people for whom they were responsible,(14) and for the opening in 1901 of a Malay Teachers Training College at Malacca. It was also Wilkinson who was behind the decision to make Johore-Rhiau Malay the standard Malay dialect of the peninsula, and the teachers from the Malacca Training College were the principal agents in establishing this.(15) In 1904 a special Committee was set up, of which Wilkinson was the leading member, to report on the standardisation of Roman Script (Rumi), as used for Malay,(16) confirming the decision to strengthen Malay as the lingua franca of various peoples of the peninsula, and as the language of communication between government and the people. Jawi (Arabic script) however, continued to be popularly used by Malays themselves until after the Pacific War.

During this period then the Malay school was establishing itself as the centre for re-orientation of Malays to the development of their country. Its influence was confined to the Malays, although several opinions held that other peoples should be brought into the community by means of Malay education. Writing in 1895, the District Officer for Ulu Langat, W.W. Skeat, urged in his Annual Report on the District that if the Compulsory Attendance Regulation of 1891 were applied to children of all nationalities "it would be the dawn of a great reform in matters educational." It was true that Chinese and Tamils were foreign immigrants, "but so are the whole body of Malays resident in the State (who have arrived from all parts of the peninsular and the adjoining islands)." Skeat, who was a Malay scholar himself, appears at this time of his career to have had a very low opinion of the capabilities of the Malays and to have been a champion of the Chinese. He goes on to say "It is hard to see why the right of obtaining education for their children should be the one privilege still denied to these most important sections of our people."(17)

---

(14) Papers on Malay Subjects, ed. R.J. Wilkinson. Published in Singapore, the first appearing in 1907. Wilkinson in fact was himself the author of nine of the sixteen studies in this series, while the second main contributor, who wrote four of them, was R.O. Wintedt, then a cadet, who in 1916 produced the report which gave the Malay school system its final pre-war form.

(15) Personal Interview with Haji Mohd. Sidin bin Mohd. Rashid (H.M. Sidin) retired Malay Schoolmaster and writer, at Klang, 29 Feb. 1968. H.M. Sidin was at Malacca in 1903, and tells how he worked with Wilkinson personally on the standardisation of the Jawi script to be used in British Malaya.

(16) Annual Report, Resident-General F.M.S. 1904, p. 18.

(17) DOUL 1933/96.

### (ii) Heterogeneity within the Malay Community

Skeat's point that most of the Malays themselves were immigrants, especially in Selangor, is important, and well made. But even where Malays were not recent immigrants, it is an important contention of this study that, over the whole area of the Federated Malay States, they were still during this period to a significant degree 'foreigners' to each other. When Collinge in his report quoted earlier uses the terms 'country' for Perak, it is clear that he was thinking of Perak as still very much a separate political entity. The same attitude is borne out by an amusing note from the Annual Report of the Acting Resident for Negri Sembilan in 1907.

> 'As one result of the education provided by the State Schools, it is interesting to record a visit paid a few months ago by the Datoh Klana Petra, of Sungei Ujong, to the neighbouring province of Rembau. Interchange of courtesies between rulers has taken place on former occasions, but the visiting chief was usually accompanied by an armed band intent on pillage and rapine. On the latest visit the Dutch led nothing more formidable than a football team, selected and captained by himself, to try conclusions with the youth of Rembau.'(18)

But more than in sport, in matters of language, inter-communication and general community awareness, the Malay school played a significant role in turning the immigrant Malay into a peninsula Malay, and in creating a sense of identity between Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang Malays, and later, during the 1920's and 1930's between the Malays of the Unfederated Malay States as well. And this was primarily the work of the Malay schoolteachers, a corps of men that took its beginnings from the foundation of the Malacca Training College in 1901.(19)

A Malay author writing in 1928 discusses at length this process of creating what he calls 'pukka Malays' from the heterogeneous Malaysian population of the peninsula. Estimating that 'about 50% of the entire Malay population in Malaya at present' was recently immigrant, he goes on to say that the conversion (into pukka Malays) was being brought about by 'the necessity on their part to learn the Malay language in order to be able to have intercourse with other natives. In the case of their children, the process of the conversion is quickened by the law which makes it compulsory for them to attend the Malay schools and learn the Malay language.' Having learnt the language the 'foreign' Malay, from wherever he came, always preferred to call himself 'orang melayu,' Malay, rather than stress Bugis, Achinese, Boyanese, Minangkabau, Mandahiling, or other origin.(20)

---

(18) Annual Report, Negri Sembilan 1907, p. 10.

(19) N.B. The Malacca Training College was not the first training college in the Peninsula. Chelliah's Educational Policy, referred to earlier, lists of earlier colleges in the Straits Settlements. Perak had a college at Taiping from 1898, which closed when the Malacca College was created. The Malacca College was the first attempt to begin providing teachers for the F.M.S. on a regular, comprehensive basis. Ref. also Awang Had bin Salleh. Malay Teacher Training in British Malaya, 1878-1941. Unpublished B.A. Ed. Thesis, Ch. of Malaya 1967.

The problems of this heterogeneity of the Malay community are well-illustrated by what could be found out about Ulu Langat mukim. The origins of the present population of this Mukim are eighty percent Sumatran. The build-up of population in this district by immigration appears to have taken place mostly during the second decade of the century, between 1906 and 1916.(21) It would seem that by about 1920 the basic settlement pattern for the Mukim was fully established, and further population was mainly by natural increase.

The Penghulu for Ulu Langat mukim during this period was Abdul Jalil, a Malay Writer from the District Office, of Mandahiling origin. At the time of his appointment in 1905, a number of local Malays of Raja class had also applied for the post, some basing their claims solely on aristocratic birth,(22) but two considerations governed the selection. One was that the work of a Penghulu by this time definitely required a man who was literate and trained in administrative duties, while the other was that there were a large number of 'foreign' settlers in the mukim, who would more readily accept the authority of one of their own number, who could also appreciate their interests better.(23) Certainly, by the accounts of most of the informants, and by the evidences of the District Office files the mukim began to awaken under the guidance of Abdul Jalil. Dusun Tua was already established, and, as noted above, got its school in 1907, but it was under Abdul Jalil that the lands further up the valley, around what is now Lubok Kelubi, were opened to settlement and cultivation. In 1909 the District Officer reports a heavy influx of Sumatrans into the District, especially to Ulu Lui, the area of which Kampong Lubok Kelubi was the main centre, and he compliments 'the Penghulu of Ulu Langat, who takes an intelligent interest in the improvements of his mukim and is anxious to open for paddy cultivation a considerable area in Ulu Lui.'(24)

---

(20) The Malays of Malaya by One of Them (Singapore 1928, pp. 64-65. The author was Hj. Abdul Majid bin Zainuddin, who taught at Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, the English Medium Secondary School for Raja Class Malays, and in 1917 became one of the first Malay Assistant Inspectors of Schools.

(21) No records are available and no figures can be given. This information is based on questioning during the personal interviews carried out in the Mukim, together with indications gleaned from the District Office files - e.g. disputes about land ownership etc. suggested how the settlements were progressing.

(22) DOUL 187/05. Of seventeen applicants seven based their claims on birth, while only four appeared to have any considerable administrative experience.

(23) DOUL 198/05. N.B. Files DOUL 159/05 and 187/05 are applications from two cousins, basing their claims on hereditary status in Ulu Langat mukim. Neither applicant was successful, but the files are of interest, as providing details of the history of the Mukim back to the early nineteenth century.

An important facet of this settlement process however was that immigrant groups were discouraged from mixing and incoming settlers were directed by the penghulu to take up lands in kampongs where others of their own origins were already established. Indeed some informants reported that the Penghulu positively forbade mixed settlement, the reason being that in separated settlements the people would come under their own dato dagang and be more manageable. No doubt also disturbances could occur initially when social integration began to take place, and separation would lighten the penghulu's problem from that source, although it was very hard to get any informants to discuss this.(25) Certainly it was generally agreed that intermarriage, for example, never took place before the 1930's, while some put the date of effective social integration as late as the immediate aftermath of the Pacific War, when it appears there was a strong belief among the Malays that with the withdrawal of the Japanese the Chinese would take-over the government, a belief which caused them finally to sink their differences.(26) Whatever interpretation is put on the changing situation, it is still possible to define the origins of each settlement in the valley, and this has been worked out in a recent linguistic survey made by Dr. Ismail Hussein of the University of Malaya.(27)

---

(24) DOUL 21/07 - Annual Report for 1906.

(25) Peter J. Wilson, A Malay Village and Malaysia (H.R.A.F. New Haven, 1967), pp. 18/23, discusses intra-community Malay relations of Jenderam Hilir, another Selangor community about forty miles away from Ulu Langat. Wilson's study is a sociological analysis of one particular community, and refers to the contemporary situation.

(26) During my inquiries about the integration of the Malay community, several of my informants referred to "the fourteen days of Chinese rule" in 1946, which finally caused Malays to unite as Malays. In fact the Chinese never achieved such a position, though in some isolated instances Chinese Resistance Groups did establish local control for a very brief period after the surrender of Japan.

Two factors inhibit the elicitation of revealing information about the role of the village school in disseminating standard Malay as the lingua franca of the Malay community. One is the present strong Malay community consciousness which only really found effective political expression during the post Pacific War period, and the developments leading to independence. This makes it hard for a Malay to admit that there ever was any sense of difference within what is now the Malay community. The other is the post-independence elevation of Malay to the status of the National Language, which in the same way makes Malays reluctant to admit to any considerable dialectal differences. However, in several instances informants asserted that the over 50's even today speak their own languages in the home, and only use standard Malay 'in the market place' and with other Malays not of the same origins. This would suggest that the Malay of the schools was only becoming the standard first language for those who entered school from the mid-1920's onwards, which agrees with the fact that major immigration was over by about 1920, and the period from 1920 to 1940 was one of consolidation. Immigration before 1920, together with the settlement policies of the penghulu, would tend to preserve the sense of separate identity.

Several examples can be given to illustrate the strength of such divisions in Malay society. One of the reasons for the selection of Abdul Jalil as penghulu, it was stated, was that as a 'foreign Malay' himself, he would be more in sympathy with the predominantly 'foreign' population of his mukim. One of his first duties was to designate the man responsible, the ketua, for the newly developing lands at the head of the valley around Lubok Kelubi, the area known as Ulu Lui. In 1906 there is a complaint from one Haji Mohammed Sidek, a Minangkabau, (Abdul Jalil was a Mandahiling) claiming that he had begun to open and promote settlement of his kin in the area from 1901, and had personally 'imported' thirty settlers from Sumatra. Abdul Jalil he complains now over-ruled his authority and appointed another man as dato dagang or ketua, who did not have the general respect of the village elders.(28)

---

(27) Dr. Ismail Hussein has not published his findings, which were made for his own records. I am indebted to him for the following information about settlement along the central road of the Mukim, starting from the mukim boundary nine miles from Kuala Lumpur. 9th-10th Mile - Batang Kapas, 10th-13th Minangkabau, 13 1/2 - 16 Mandahiling, 16 - 20th Palembang, 20th Mile Lubok Kelubi road Minangkabau, and from 22nd. Mile on the Sungei Lui road, Korinchi and Jambi. Kampong Jawa at the 19th Mile, is as the name suggests, a Javanese settlement.

(28) DOUL 154/06. The full facts of the case are not available, since the file in question has been half-eaten away by termites!

It would seem that Jalil's first concern was to make sure that all the ketua were his personal appointees, and there were no challengers to his authority.

It is worth recording that this area which was settled by Minangkabaus and Palembangs, is today served by one primary school. When interviews were being carried out in this area, some of the villagers got the impression that their purpose was an official survey to assess the need for another school. Some villagers approached the researcher and asked for another school on the grounds that the present building was situated in an area inhabited by 'orang lain'--'other people.'

The village of Sungei Lui is one of the more recent settlements, inhabited by men from Korinchi who, according to the village elders, began to arrive around 1916. The village seems to have been always isolated from the rest of the mukim, being on the other side of the Lui river, which was only effectively bridged in the late 1930's. The village had its own native leader, who was known as the toh empat, but the penghulu also sent a dato dagang as assistant ketua kampong. In theory the dato dagang, as the penghulu's appointment and a man who knew the workings of the administration, was to become the effective power in the village, but the village informants asserted that very little attention was ever paid to him, because he was an outsider.

Sungei Lui appears to have been at odds with the Penghulu throughout the pre-war period, one of the causes of contention being the Penghulu's refusal to support their demands for a school. Indeed they requested a school as early as 1922, and when it was not supported, opened their own two-standard school, under the control of a private community committee, which was kept going on the village's own initiative until the Japanese occupation. After the war it was reopened, and finally achieved government recognition in 1948.(29) Sungei Lui School is an example of what was known as a sekolah rakyat, or people's school, as opposed to a Government School. It is not possible to assess the number of such schools before the war, since unless they succeeded in getting Government adoption they were unrecorded, and the Government looked upon take-over dates as foundation dates.(30)

---

(29) Information on Sungei Lui from interviews with the present school headmaster, village elders and Che'gu Mohd. Long bin Sa'ad who was village schoolmaster from 1934 to 1950, and is now teaching elsewhere. The school itself kept no records, and, since it was unrecognised, is not recorded in any Government papers.

(30) Sekolah Rakyat were a phenomenon of the 1920's and 1930's. Informants asserted that there were many examples of such schools opened during this period, but no major survey has been made of them. Few of them lasted more than a few years by themselves. Many were accepted by the Government, and taken over. The Sungei Lui School seems to have been an exception, in its persistence and independence.

A further example of disunion among Malays is afforded by a file from the Ulu Langat office from the year 1922, a petition from Malays of 'good birth' forwarded to the Sultan of Selangor, through the District Officer. It complains that too many government posts, particularly for Penghulus, had gone to Malays of Sumatran origin, who had gained experience as subordinate staff or Malay writers in Government offices. This was well enough ten or twenty years earlier, but now local Malay chiefs were better educated, and it was wrong to overlook them in favour of Malays of foreign origin. The reply comes from the British Resident, who notes that the petition was 'not a pleasing production,' and directs the District Office to voice the displeasure of the Sultan.

### (iii) Conclusion--The Period 1900 to 1920. English and Secondary Education.

The period 1900 to ca. 1920 saw the establishement of the character of British Malaya. For Malays as much as for Chinese or Indians it was a period of immigration, but for Malays it was also a period of settlement and the beginnings of the creation of a community. British policy regarded the Malays, whatever their recent or more ancient origins, as the true natives of the peninsula, and Government educational provision was devised primarily for the Malays. The schools however were geared directly to the needs of the British colonial system, and the western sphere could only absorb a limited number of local employees. Moreover, the early demand for qualified personnel in subordinate posts had anticipated the supply of local schools, and offered advantages to 'foreigners' who were already qualified; Malays from Sumatra and from the Straits Settlements and Tamils from Ceylon. The policy that developed was that the Malay school should strengthen the rural character of Malay society generally, while at the same time narrow channels should be provided to enable a limited number of Malays to enjoy English medium western education.

This study is principally interested in the role of primary vernacular education, but a note on English education for Malays would be appropriate. As has been pointed out, since secondary schools and English schools were necessarily sited in the towns, rural Malays were at a disadvantage. In 1901, a sum of $1,200 was set aside by the Government for aiding Malay boys to go to English Schools,(31) but there was a further drawback in that the Government was content to let the majority of English schools be run by Christian missions. A survey of English schools in 1905, shows that of the 12 Boys' English schools in the F.M.S., eight were mission supported.(32) For the Malay this created the problem of associating western education with subversion of his Muslim religion. In fact so strong was the association in the minds of some Malays, that the trappings of western education, school games, western dress, became signs of desertion of the faith. A number of informants who had managed to go to English schools during this period recounted strong parental opposition on religious grounds,(33) while others, who had become Malay School Teachers, said that the reason why they had remained in the Malay stream was because of parental opposition to their going to English school.

---

(31) Education Report, F.M.S. 1901, p. 2.

(32) Education Report, F.M.S. 1905, paras 10-23.

In 1905 a Malay Residential School, eventually known as the Malay College, was opened at Kuala Kangsar in Perak. This was an English medium secondary school exclusively for Malays, and designed to provide training for the Government service. It was originally proposed by R.J. Wilkinson. Collinge, who was acting Inspector of Schools, F.M.S. at the time, says in his annual report "It was at one time suggested to confine the privileges of the school to young Rajas and a select few of the sons of Native Chiefs, but a more liberal view prevailed and its doors are open to other youths also, the most promising boys of English or vernacular schools."(34) The 'more liberal views' did not prevail for long, and the Malay College became in fact the preserve of the Malay aristocracy. Entry to the College was by nomination by the British Resident, with the approval of the Sultan. There are several examples on the files of the Ulu Langat District Officer where application is being made to the Resident through the District Officer for consideration as a candidate for the Malay College, and in each the question of the boy's origins is taken up.

In 1910, when Wilkinson was Resident in Negri Sembilan, he reports that in that State the Malay College had acquired a poor reputation, and was thought of as 'really a sort of reformatory for idle and refractory boys of good family.'(35) But this attitude may have arisen partly from the problem in Negri Sembilan, a confederacy of nine smaller 'states,' in deciding who in fact could be accounted of 'good birth.'(36)

---

(33) Two eminent examples are Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad (Za'ba) former Chairman of the Malay Studies Dept. University of Malaya, who went to St. Paul's School, Seremban, in Negri Sembilan (interviewd 14.6.68) and Ishaq bin Hj. Mohammed, Malay Author and Journalist, who went to the Government English School at Kuala Lipis, Pahang (interviewed 7.2.68).

(34) Education Report, F.M.S. 1905, para 48.

(35) Annual Report, Negri Sembilan 1910 para 39.

(36) M.G. Swift, Malay Peasant Society in Jelebu (London 1965), p. 15.

Certainly very early on, and particularly from Negri Sembilan, there were demands for more English schools for Malays. Negri Sembilan in particular had benefitted from the proximity of Malacca and the Malay Teachers' Training College there, at a time when regional differences discouraged Malays from travelling too far for their training and education.(37) As early as 1908, the Yang di-Pertuan Besar (Paramount Ruler) was urging the Resident to establish a Residential English School for Negri Sembilan Malays.(38) English education, leading to select positions in the government service was very quickly perceived as the best opportunity for the individual, and the bridge from the static world of the Malay kampong to the brighter life of the developing towns and society of modern Malaya. But the limited resources of agrarian Malay society made it permanently dependent on Government beneficence to bridge this gap and government policy was not to overcrowd the ranks of would-be government clerks and subordinate staff.

One result was that western education created a class or status division in Malay society, between the English and the Malay educated, which, since entry to English schools was highly selective, and the availability of employment through education was limited, has tended to become self-perpetuating. The English educated were not ready to see their acquired ascendancy threatened, particularly since English education underwrote a claim to nobility. Discussing the question of over production of English educated Malays in the Federal Council meetings of 1933 one of the Malay members, the Raja Muda of Perak states 'I am prepared--though I know that by doing so I lay myself open to criticisms by my own people--to suggest that we should withdraw all these free seats in English schools and close down all the hostels. . . . and spend all this on technical and industrial education.' He went on to assert that 'I am perfectly sure that even if you withdraw all these hostels from these schools there will always be sufficient English-speaking Malays to meet local demands.'(39)

The only English education available in Ulu Langat District before 1940 was at Kajang. The first English school was opened by a Methodist Minister, W.E. Horley, in 1905, with the support of 'about thirty residents', who are not identified. The school was a private school, but the District Officer arranged for it to be housed in an unoccupied Government residence. Since it was a day school, its pupils were limited to residents of Kajang.(40) There are no further records of this school in the files, and no mention of any other English school in the district until the Government English School was opened in 1922. When this school was projected a District Office file reports a heavy demand for English education, and while the Government was planning for a school of 200 pupils, the District Officer already had more than 300 applications listed.(41) The school opened with 189 pupils and by the end of 1923 enrolment was up to 250, with many applicants still clamouring for entry. This school however was not exclusively for Malays, who only formed a minority of the pupils and were limited by the hostel accommodation available.(42) The school moved to a new building in 1930, which is the one in use today. Unfortunately the present school office has no pre-war records of any sort, and it is impossible to get any information about the proportion of Malays to Chinese and/or Indians who managed to gain entry.

---

(37) Education Report, F.M.S. 1902, para 42.

(38) Education Report, F.M.S. 1908, para 50.

(39) Federal Council Proceedings, 1933, p. B 147.

(40) DOUL 136/05

The table on page 41b gives the numbers of pupils in English schools in the Federated Malay States for 1930, by nationaltiy. It gives some idea of the participation of the Malays.(43)

Total enrolment in Malay schools for the same year was, for Perak 15,582 boys and 3,502 girls, Selangor 7,509 boys and 727 girls, Negri Sembilan 6,412 boys and 466 girls, Pahang 4,562 boys and 246 girls; totals for the F.M.S. 34,065 boys and 4,491 girls.(44) Enrolment of Malays in English schools was of the order, therefore, of seven to eight percent of the enrolment in Malay schools.

The clearest statement of Government policy regarding the English education for Malays was given by the Chief Secretary in the Federal Council in reply to a question by the first Malay member, Raja Sir Chulan, Raja di-Hilir of Perak. Raja Sir Chulan had asked if the Government would be able to provide employment for the Malay boys who pass out of Government English Schools, and whether, if it could not guarantee employment, it was a sound policy to open more English schools. The reply stated that:

> "It is the policy of the Government to provide an education in English at elementary schools for boys whose parents can afford to pay school fees, provided that the number of boys attending these schools is fixed with regard to the available

---

(41) DOUL 769/22.

(42) DOUL 478/23, 479/23 and 853/23 (Annual Report).

(43) Education Report, F.M.S. 1930, Appendix III.

(44) Education Report, F.M.S. 1930, Appendix XV.

Enrolment of Pupils in English Schools by Race and State. F.M.S. Education Report 1930.

| State: | Perak | | Selangor | | Negri Sembilan | | Pahang | | F.M.S. Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls |
| **Race** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Eurasian | 176 | 190 | 255 | 188 | 106 | 81 | 11 | 4 | 548 | 463 |
| Malay | 1,226 | 55 | 762 | 90 | 540 | 24 | 203 | 10 | 2,726 | 179 |
| Chinese | 2,923 | 1,109 | 2,334 | 1,230 | 714 | 252 | 316 | 35 | 6,287 | 2,626 |
| Indian | 1,480 | 398 | 1,438 | 511 | 587 | 177 | 203 | 42 | 3,708 | 1,128 |
| Other | 32 | 25 | 82 | 159 | 24 | 10 | - | - | 138 | 194 |
| Totals | 5,832 | 1,777 | 4,871 | 2,178 | 1,971 | 544 | 733 | 91 | 13,407 | 4,590 |

courses of employment open to boys with an English education. The demand of parents for an education in English for their sons is in excess of the rate at which they can be absorbed into suitable employment, and the Government, therefore, is compelled to resist the demand by the parents for that education and to be guided by the supply of employment for the boys."(45)

It is interesting to note that Sir Chulan's question was prompted by plans to open two English schools in primarily Malay rural area centres in Perak, and that subsequently, on the advice of the Perak State Council, these plans were dropped.(46)

---

(45) Federal Council Proceedings 28/7/1923.

(46) Federal Council Proceedings 8/10/1930, page B 105.

## THE OTHER MALAYA, 1920-1940.

### (i) The Rural Biassed Primary School

The years 1920-1940 saw the perfection of the colonial system, and the creation, as far as Malays were concerned, of two Malayas. A social system empirically developed in the years from British intervention to the first Great War in Europe was now formally established and regulated, and the scheme of educational provision was designed for perpetuation, not for change. E.L. Brockman as Chief Secretary remarked in his Annual Report for 1918: "We are now at the parting of the ways in the matter of education in this country. . . . The great need of the whole Peninsula is to train local candidates for the Medical, Railway, Public Works, Survey, Mines, Forests and Agricultural Departments, and no possible harm can come if the whole energy of the Education Department is concentrated upon this for some years to come."(1) In fact, the famous British educator, Professor M.E. Sadler, was invited to Malaya to make a report for the Government, but he was not able to accept. Brockman's stress on the need for trained staff for the various established departments suggests only one of the parting ways, however, and this remained a narrow route for the majority of the Malay population. For them the direction had been set by the Winstedt Report of 1916, which provided the foundation for the vernacular school system as it was finally perfected in British Malaya up to 1940.

R.O. Winstedt, who succeeded R.J. Wilkinson as the foremost Malay scholar of the Administrative service, was sent, in 1916, to Java and the Philippines to study the Dutch and American native primary school systems.(2) He was appointed Assistant Director of Education for Malay Schools, and given the task of perfecting the vernacular school systems in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States. The principal results of Winstedt's report and its subsequent effects were the confirmation of the basic four year course for primary schools, greater stress on rural handicrafts, especially basketwork and school gardening, and the creation of a first class training College for Malay teachers, serving the whole peninsula.

Winstedt himself was very favourably impressed with Dutch Desa school in Java, which provided only a three year course, which he deemed sufficient for rural education. 'It may be regretted perhaps that we have started providing education superior to this in remote villages, but we can hardly come down from the position we have taken.'(3) He recommended four standards only on the grounds that five would not be enough to make a Malay boy into a good clerk, but would be enough to encourage him to desert the village.(4)

---

(1) Annual Report, Federated Malay States 1918, p. 17.

(2) 'Vernacular and Industrial Education in the Netherlands East Indies and the Philippines,' Appendix No. 22 to Proceedings of the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements, 1916. (Hereafter the Winstedt Report.)

Basketwork after Winstedt became the shibboleth of the vernacular schools, the primer for all craftwork to which the Malay boy was destined. Handicrafts had in fact always figured largely in schemes for Malay education, and this was supported by progressive trends in western paedogogical thought, which were also stressing the need for more technical, as opposed to over-academic, bias in the developing National general education schemes. In Malaya technical education was certainly needed, and it was indeed true, as it always is true in developing countries today, that the 'academic' clerical services should not be overloaded with candidates. Nevertheless the tendency in Malaya seemed to be towards stressing the sentimental handicrafts, the curios of rural industry, instead of the less exotic skills of the railway workshop or the modern building site. Winstedt's own reports show this bias clearly, though it was perhaps not unnatural in a Malay scholar and antiquarian.

Together with the Resident, Negri Sembilan, Winstedt as District Officer for Kuala Pilah in the years 1912 to 1914 was conducting his own experiments in encouraging Malay crafts, but does not appear to have met with much success. The Resident noted that there was no demand for Malay craft work among the Malays themselves, who preferred 'European novelties,' and suggested that Malays should aim for the European market.(5) In 1913 Winstedt reported a scheme to encourage Malay wood-carving and filigree work, but the Chinese were 'deft and sedulous imitators of current fashions' and 'trespassed' on Malay work.(6) Again in 1914 the Resident reports 'Sixty dollars worth of gold filigree and carving were done under the District Officer's supervision during the year. It seems impossible to find a market, to encourage output.'(7) Basketwork certainly has more practical use than gold filigree, but as one informant, a retired schoolteacher, pointed out, the kind of technical work being taught to the Malays was more for the production of 'tourist type' curios, 'Malay novelties' for Europeans one might say, rather than things of practical use to the kampong. During the late 1930's some small Malay industries did get under way -- the same informant gave the example of a Malay owned cloth-printing factory at his own home town, Taiping in Perak -- but these were hampered by Japanese competition and finally killed by the Japanese invasion.(8)

---

(3) Winstedt Report, p. 98.

(4) Winstedt Report, p. 118.

(5) Annual Report, Negri Sembilan 1912, p. 19.

(6) Annual Report, Negri Sembilan 1913, p. 18.

(7) Annual Report, Negri Sembilan 1914, p. 17. Compare Education report, F.M.S. 1922, p. 13. "As previously indicated the teaching of Basketry continues to spread in Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang. The chief difficulty hitherto in connection with this work has been the provision of a market for the baskets"!!

Another plank of the village school curriculum was the encouragement of school gardens, stemming from a report made by D.H. Grist of the Malayan Agricultural Department, who made a study tour of Ceylon in 1921. Grist remarked that 'although Malays are an agricultural race, yet they lack the "agricultural instinct." The solution to these problems is to be found in education.'(9) The result of Grist's reports was an effort to provide every school with a garden, and also to set up a series of agricultural demonstration stations, where village heads and Malay leaders would observe the successful cultivation of improved crops. In 1929 School Gardens were brought under the supervision of the Department of Agriculture, whose expert officers were to report to and advise the Education Department.(10)

The grand scheme for this period can therefore be summed up in remarks made by Winstedt as Director of Education in his Annual Report for 1924. 'In time the village school should be the scientific centre for village agriculture. With the stimulus of scientific training village boys may be led to stick to the staple industries of their race and country. The introduction of school gardening will then have conferred an incalculable benefit on the Malay race.'(11) The concept is impressive, but whether in fact the village school did act in this way as a scientific centre for the village is not easy to establish. Obviously much depended on the calibre, quality, and influence of the village schoolteacher in his relationships with the adults of the community. The Malay primary school child could hardly be expected to have any considerable influence on the home, or on the industry of his elders.

The only individual school records discovered during this piece of research were the admissions register and headmasters' diary of Bukit Raya school, opened in 1917 at the tenth mile of the Ulu Langat road. The diary is a straightforward factual record of the openings and closings of the school; records of attendance, staffing problems, and the reports and advice of visiting inspectors. These inspectors' reports, starting from one of October 1922 when the headmaster is instructed to attend a lecture by Grist on School Gardens to be given in Kuala Lumpur, demonstrate the importance laid on the School garden. At the same time pupils were encouraged to start home gardens. In May 1932 the Malay Inspector of Schools reports unfavourably that he found the pupils working in the garden while the teachers were 'standing around like mandors,' and not setting an example by working themselves. Questioning the pupils he found that very few had home gardens, and he urged the teachers to make home calls to encourage parents to start their own vegetable plots. They could easily make room by cutting down 'three or four rubber trees.'

---

(8) Interview with Che'gu Sabron bin Said, Taiping, retired Malay School Teacher.

(9) Report on Agricultural Education in Ceylon, together with recommendations regarding Agricultural Education for Malaya. D.H. Grist. Federal Council Proceedings, F.M.S. 1921, Appendix No. 9, p.c. 101.

(10) Annual Report, Department of Agriculture, 1929, p. 11.

(11) Annual Report, Education Department, 1924, p. 15.

The village school teacher was clearly expected to extend his direct influence beyond the classroom, but this was not necessarily the role expected of him by the parents. One retired teacher, who appeared to have been quite successful and popular with the people of his village, put that role differently when interviewed.(12) One of the earlier graduates of the Sultan Idris Training College for Malay teachers, he found that the parents of the school just outside Kuala Lumpur at which he taught were not a bit interested either in school gardening or in basketry for their children, but that he was judged by the number of pupils from the top standards that he could get into the Special Malay Classes which provided the link to English education. There was in fact a keen appreciation of education which would lead their children out of village pursuits, and in spite of his training this was where he directed his efforts. Instead of basketry in fact he stressed his own 'symbolic' subjects, scouting and football, for these were marks of western education. He was in fact reported to the Inspector of Schools for making his own adjustments to the curriculum.

### (ii) The Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim

The Malay School teacher, after 1922, was increasingly the product of the Sultan Idris Training College at Tanjong Malim in Perak. This college, the result of the work of Winstedt, was opened in 1922, and was before the war the highest form of education provided in the Malay vernacular. It stands in contrast to the Malay College Kuala Kangsar, already mentioned, which was created at the instigation of Wilkinson in 1905, and was an elite English medium secondary school for Malays only. The curriculum of the Sultan Idris Training College was confined to training for teaching the primary school curriculum, but in fact it evolved a far higher intellectual level among its students, so that by the late 1930's its students, and other Malays, were already thinking in terms of developing the Sultan Idris Training College into a proper place of higher education in Malaya, though they were projecting this development for as far ahead as the 1960's.(13) In fact, despite its lesser academic pretensions, the Sultan Idris Training College became the alternative course for those Malays who could not, for reasons of birth usually, or would not, for reasons of parental attitude,(14) go to the Malay College Kuala Kangsar or to the other English secondary schools where accommodation for Malays was so limited. As such it became the best training ground for a new Malay leadership, of energetic young men who felt themselves to be particularly disadvantaged by the existing situation in Malayan society.

---

(12)Che'qu Abdul Hamid bin Hassan. Retired Teacher. Interviewed 4-1-68.

It would not be correct to set up too sharp a distinction between the student at Tanjong Malim and the pupil of Malay College. But certain factors would seem to suggest a greater maturity for those who went to the Training College, and at the same time the Training College did set out to instil a certain sense of purpose, and duty towards the Malay community, in its pupils, whereas the influence of the Malay college was westernising, denationalising, a sort of British Public School tendency. Particularly under O.T. Dussek, first Principal and the inspirational force behind the college until his early retirement in 1936, the Sultan Idris Training College sought to create a sense of 'Malayness' among its pupils, and to imbue that sense with the spirit of competition towards the other races in Malaya.

Entrants to the college had to have completed Malay school plus one extra, fifth year in the same school. Standard V in Malay schools was principally for boys who were hoping to become teachers. Then, for the next three or four years, to age 16 that is, the candidate taught at his school as a pupil teacher. Entrance to the college was at age 16, and the college offered a three year course to its certificate. The college planned its own examination and set its own standards, but, although the work of the college was intended to give a thorough grounding in the primary subjects to be taught, it was generally agreed that in most subjects the final certificate was equivalent in academic standard to the Cambridge Senior School Certificate, which was the climax of the English medium secondary school courses. In effect the course was a full secondary education in Malay.

---

(13)Awang Had bin Salleh, Malay Teacher Training in the Federated Malay States 1900-1940 (M.A. Ed. Thesis U. of Malaya 1967), p. 170, referring to Chenderamata (S.I.T.C. Magazine), No. 16 of April 1931.

(14)Parental opposition to western education for religious reasons died hard, and several informants reported that they had had to pass up the chance of English because parents objected to western dress, football, and other such signs of cultural subversion.

When the Sultan Idris Training College (S.I.T.C.) student was posted to his village school, he was in most cases considerably better educated than any one else in the community, not excluding in many cases the Penghulu. Most of the Malay village leadership had only completed Malay school, for indeed any further education would have seen these persons in better positions in government service. The S.I.T.C. teacher was therefore in a position to advise and influence village leadership, provided his advice could be accepted in such a society where influence depended mainly on the two factors of property ownership and seniority. Most informants agreed that initially the Malay schoolteacher would be accepted as one of the village 'elders,' by virtue of his acknowledg training and education, and unless he himself chose to make any other impression upon village society, he would not encounter any problems in his village relationships.

The first post-war report on Malay education, the Barnes report of 1951 spoke of the disinterest of Malay parents in the Malay schools, in the sense that 'most Malay parents have had the idea that they have to be satisfied with what is laid down for the education of their children.'(15) In fact what was 'laid down for the education of their children,' was bland and non-controversial, and therefore the routine work of the schoolteacher caused little interest within the villlage. Asked if parents did in fact take much interest in the affairs of the school most of the retired teachers answered that they did, but only in such matters as the formation of a school football team, or a headmaster's insistance on smart school uniforms and punctuality in attendance. The direct influence of the schoolteacher therefore made itself more felt in his projection of himself into village affairs and his own personal example.

Many schoolteachers were content to assume the role of 'honorary village elder' without attempting to impress themselves in any way upon the village community, and in fact four of the six S.I.T.C. teachers interviewed who had taught in Ulu Langat mukim before the the war took this attitude, but the other two, and other teachers interviewed, evinced a far greater sense of purpose in their roles. In this they 'trespassed' upon the preserves of the traditional religious leaders of the community and entered the controversies of Kaum Muda versus Kaum Tua which animated Malay society during the 1920's and 1930's.(16)

---

(15)Report of the Committee on Malay Education, Federation of Malaya (Barnes Chmn.), Kuala Lumpur 1951, p. 13.

(16)"Kaum Muda-Kaum Tua: Innovation and Reaction." Chapter 3 in W.R. Roff, the Origins of Malay Nationalism (Yale, New Haven, 1967). Kaum is party or factions, and Muda and Tua here have the sense of Progressive and Conservative respectively. There were in fact no parties as such, and, as my informants were careful to point out, one man's own ideas may have elements of both Muda and Tua. This discussion was the result of the reformist Islam ideas of Mohd. Abduh and others reaching Malaya during this period.

### (iii) Majallah Guru. The Malay Teacher's forum.

The kind of topics which animated Malay discussion during this period, and in which the Malay schoolteachers took a leading part, are well reflected in the pages of Majallah Guru, literally 'the Teachers' Magazine,' which was the first published in November 1924 in Seremban, and appeared monthly for the next eighteen years, moving its headquarters to Kuala Lumpur in 1932, and to Penang in 1939. Majallah Guru was sponsored originally by the Malay Teachers Associations of Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Malacca, but its aim from the beginning was to serve Malay teachers throughout the peninsula. In fact the first editorial proclaims that the magazine was intended for all the teachers in the peninsula, and for all others interested in Malay progress, for its policy accorded with the principle that the responsibility of the Malay teacher was toward the general populace.(17) The editors staunchly defended this wide interpretation of the role of the magazine when, during the mid-1930's, certain younger teachers appeared to be trying to turn it into a periodical confined to voicing the interests and demands of teachers only.(18)

As a result of the freedom which the editors allowed themselves in the choice of subject matter, Majallah Guru became a very good mirror of the concerns of Malay society in general during this period. Moreover it often contained comments on, and replies to, other contemporary Malay publications, some of which are no longer available, so that it affords a fairly broad spectrum of Malay opinion.

The Malay press during this period was highly critical of Malay society, and it is clear that Malay writers believed that Malays had a great deal to learn. The Malay community in fact was a community at school, and this theme is expressly argued by one writer in Majallah Guru who refers to the 'University of Life,' comparing Malaya to a classroom in which the Malays are at the bottom of the class. He accuses the Malays of being satisfied with the education they had got, and in particular attacks his fellow school teachers, graduated from S.I.T.C., for taking the attitude that they have no more to learn.(19) This stress on the need to learn, and in particular to be aware of the achievements of other peoples, is a constant theme of the magazine. Several series of articles on foreign countries were run from time to time,(20) but of more interest to us here are the articles complaining that Malays do not know enough about their fellows, about the next village, and the next state.(21) The teacher who used his school holidays for travel within the peninsula would help to build up the sense of community and race which the Malay needed to develop.

---

(17) Majallah Guru 1/1 (Nov. 24), p. 1.

(18) Majallah Guru 12/3 (March 1935), pp. 83-4, refers to letter by Guru Muda (Young Teacher) to the Malay Newspaper Warta Malaya, criticising Majallah Guru, and suggesting that it should confine itself to matters of teachers' salaries, housing, postings, school ratings, commendations and cautionings, pensions, etc.

(19) Majallah Guru 6/11 (Nov. 1929), 206-8. "University Hidup."

It would seem that this feeling of urgency in creating a Malay community began to be marked from about 1930 onwards, particularly when the Chinese began to agitate for entry into the Malay Civil Service, and for places on the Federal Council.(22) The issue of March 1930 quoted in full Arnold Toynbee's famous article in the Nation and Athenaeum in which he predicted that Malaya would become a province of the Chinese.(23) And yet Majallah Guru consistently opposed conservative, 'Kaum Tua' elements who sought to answer threats to Malays by extreme conservatism in religion and politics. The advice was always to learn from others, to imitate and adopt, even from the Chinese. "Kemajuan siapa yang patut di-tiru?" - Whose progress should be imitated? - asks one article, which is an attack on those who oppose western ways.(24) If not the West, who should be copied, the Arabs, our forebears, or Pa' Lebai? The lebai is a self-appointed but untrained village religious teacher, conservative, ignorant, and the frequent butt of Majallah Guru attacks on conservatism; Pa' being an affectionate, but here derisive, title for an older man. The article argues that there is no advance without imitation, without borrowing, and points out the many things already borrowed from the west which had been accepted without question, such as items of food, methods of transport.

The same willingness to borrow freely and adapt characterises the attitude of the editors of Majallah Guru towards the question of the development of the Malay language, in a debate which occupied the early 1930's. The editor who took over in 1932 with the move to Kuala Lumpur, Mohd. Yasin bin Ma'amor,(25) took a leading part in this discussion, in which issue was joined with the Malaysians of the Dutch East Indies over the proper course of development of the language. One of the earlier articles in this discussion refers to the diversity of forms of Malay speech within the peninsula, and criticises those who stubbornly held that their 'Johore, Perak or Kelantan' Malay was the pure form.(26) The same number has a further article on the poverty of the Malay language as a modern language and for the adequate expression of thought.

---

(20) E.g. M.G. 4/10 (Oct. 27), p. 194. Letter from Soerabaya. M.G. 5/5-6-8-10 (May, June, Aug., Oct. 28) Voyage to Japan.

(21) M.G. 1/2 (Dec. 24), p. 17-18. Editorial.

(22) M.G. 7/1 (Jan. 30), p. 12-13. Report on Federal Council Union of Dec. 1929.

(23) M.G. 7/3 (March 30), pp. 47-49.

(24) M.G. 9/12 (Dec. 1932), p. 343-345.

(25) Mohd. Yasin bin Ma'amor, Interviewed Beranang 21-2-68.

The language question was a dominating topic of these years, which would seem to suggest the role of standard and standardising Malay in the development of the community sense. One of the powerful influences for standard Malay was certainly the Sultan Idris Training College, where students from all over the peninsula met and mixed, becoming aware not only of the diversity of the Malay community, but also of its extent. It was official policy that students should return to teach in their own states, if possible in their own home mukims and kampongs, but many of them found this chance to meet Malays from other states instructive and valuable, as is shown from their writings.(27) From Tanjong Malim students would return to their villages having risen above the provincialism which Majallah Guru found it necessary to attack.

Tanjong Malim also was the headquarters of the Pejabat Karang-Mengarang, or Government Translation Bureau, which was founded by the Principal, O.T. Dussek, in 1924, for the purpose of providing books firstly for the use of Malay schools, and secondly for the enjoyment of Malay society in general.(28) This department never achieved the scope which O.T. Dussek planned for it, to stand comparison with the much more ambitious Dutch Balai Poestaka in Indonesia, but its complete monopoly of Malay school books, and of most of other reading matter in Malay originating within the peninsula apart from the Malay newspapers, made it a powerful influence for the standardisation of Malay during the pre-war period. It came under attack from Malay writers however, because it confined itself, apart from the composition of textbooks, to the translation of western classics, and did little to encourage the original efforts of Malay authors. For this reason the influence of Indonesians, who enjoyed greater opportunities for publication, upon Malays was strong.(29)

---

(26) "Peratoran Menulis Zaman Ini." Current writing styles. M.G. 8/1 (Jan. 31), p. 13 and also pp. 15-16.

(27) E.g. Che'gu di-dalam tahanan (Teacher in detention) by Mahdi Kedah (Penang 1956). The S.I.T.C. is depicted as the place where the autobiographical hero of this story found himself, and where through his meetings with others, he became aware of the Malay community and its problems.

(28) The story of this Bureau and an account of its publications is given by Abdullah Sanusi bin Ahmad in Peranan Pejabat Karang Mengarang. (The Role of the Translation Bureau). Kuala Lumpur 1966. For an account of the Balai Poestaka see G.W.J. Drewes 'L'Oeuvre du Bureau d'Education Populaire en Indonesie,' Symposium on Popular Education, Afrika Institut, Leiden (Leiden 1953).

The language debate in the Malay press in the 1930's reflects another aspect of Malay development besides the growing awareness of community as suggested above. There was also, in spite of the close ties with, and strong influence of, Indonesia, a developing sense of Malaya's own unique identity, which suggests that the immigrant Malay was indeed becoming a peninsular Malay. In one article Mohd. Yasin, writing under the pen-name of Keris Melayu, found it necessary to attack Indonesian literary criticisms of Malay writers, and remind the Indonesians of Malaya's separate identitfy and cultural development under British as compared with Dutch rule.(30) This marked the start of a paper debate which continued sporadically through the issues of the next two years, the general contention being that Malays were entitled to set their own standards. However one article which is out of character with the general policy of the Magazine, appearing in 1939, proposed that Malays and Indonesians should sink their differences by using Arabic script and Arabic instead of Dutch or English as their principle loan-languages for new vocabulary.

### (iv) The Discussion of Reform. Religion and Education.

Majallah Guru has been used at length in this study as the particular Magazine serving and providing a forum for teachers, but it was of course by no means the only Malay publication during this period. Volume XV, No. 10, the October 1938 issue of Majallah Guru, is itself, a special edition, devoted entirely to a history of Malay publications originating in the peninsula, by one of the retired editors, Mohd. bin Dato Muda. The author lists no less than one hundred and seven publications, starting with the earliest, Jawi Peranakan, which first appeared in Singapore in 1893.(31) Most of these publications were short lived, surviving for only a few editions, but a few managed to last for longer. The most noteworthy were Majlis published from Kuala Lumpur from 1931 to 1941, which began as a twice-weekly paper, came out three times a week from 1935, and became a daily in 1939; Warta Malaya published as a daily from Singapore from 1930 to 1941; and Saudara published from Penang from 1928 to 1932, and twice weekly thereafter to 1941. Other influential periodicals were Lidah Benar published weekly from Klang from 1929 to 1932, and Al-Ikhwan published in Penang from 1926 to 1931.

---

(29) A. Sanusi Ahmed. Peranan Pejabat K.M., p. 57-58.

(30) M.G. 12/7 (July 35), pp. 272-275.

(31) The best readily available account of the Malay press in English is in W.R. Roff's Origins of Malay Nationalism (Yale 1967) passim. See also W.R. Roff, Sejarah Surat$^2$ Khabar Melayu - History of Malay Newspapers (Penang 1967). University of Malaya Monograph. Dr. Roff's Guide to Malay Periodicals 1876-1941 (Singapore 1961) is a checklist of known holdings in Malayan countries.

One of the ways in which a Malay teacher could impress his ideas upon the community was by writing to the Malay press, under a pseudonym, and thus calling the attention of the villagers to the letter if and when it was published, starting a discussion on the topic in question. A favourite time for this discussion was between the hours of evening prayer at the mosque, the traditional gathering place of the villlage elders. Most of the teachers interviewed admitted to pennames which they had studied to keep secret from the village community, and to have attempted to impress progressive ideas on their communities in this way. Two factors would give their opinions weight, the power of the printed word (particularly in the Jawi or Arabic Malay press, for Arabic was, as one informant pointed out, the language of religion, and Malay in Arabic script carried greater weight than roman script), and also the Mosque as a venue for discussion.

It is important to realise the strength of Islam as infusing the whole and giving character to Malay society; so that all discussion of change, development, or progress, had to be couched in muslim rhetoric. In fact, given the initial heterogeneity of Malay society, Islam was the binding factor. 'Muslim monarchies' was the phrase used by Sir Hugh Clifford in describing the Malay states. It can be argued that there was a renaissance of Islam in Malay in particular because the treaties of British intervention reserved only Muslim religious affairs to the authority of the Sultans and their councils.

In Perak it will be recalled one of the mainstays of Collinge's policy for the encouragement of school attendance was to provide a Koran class to each village school. In Selangor, religious education was given in afternoon classes, using the same buildings as the Malay school, but the staffing and regulation of these classes was not the concern of the education department. The Government Malay School teacher did not have anything to do with religious education, another reason why, as long as the village school was satisfactorily run, it does not appear to have played any controversial role in the village. Religious education however appears to have become a matter of intense interest during the 1930's, and closely related to the development of Malay society.

Answers to enquiries about what kind of discussion took place in the mosque, what sort of topics were raised in the press, appear to be very insignificant and unsatisfactory. Questions of appropriate dress, behaviour, the propriety of playing badminton or football, and card games, seem to have ranked large. These however were symbolic of a changing mental outlook involving the Malay identity. Malays have always laid stress on the importance of their 'adat,' Malay custom, propriety and behaviour.(32) "Biar mati anak jangan mati adat" -- "Let our children perish rather than our customs," was an often quoted Malay proverb. During the 1920's and 1930's the development of the Malay peninsula was placing stresses upon the web of Malay adat, and the solution to these problems was argued out in terms of religion. In fact it was through religion that a means was being sought to bridge the gap from traditional to modern adat, if adat can be taken to mean not so much traditional customs as 'way-of-life' in general. In this sense a modern adat with new values was bidding to replace the old one, and the protagonists of the modern adat were the reformist religious teachers, in league with the village school teachers, while the champions of conservatism were the Lebais, and often the village heads.

The head of this controversy of the 1930's still smoulders to this day. This was demonstrated in the village, or small township, of Dusan Tua, where having made contact with one retired religious teacher, the researcher found that he had unwittingly become partisan to a long-standing dispute. Che'gu Haji Ja'afar, from Sumatra, had arrived in Dusan Tua as a religious teacher in 1930, having trained for eight years, 1918 to 1926 in Mecca, and toured religious centres in Sumatra from 1928 to 1930. He claims to have been invited to Dusan Tua by a 'committee' of ten elders, who guaranteed to support him if he would open a modern Arabic school.(33) This he did, but he himself was not allowed to teach because he was in ideological conflict with the Sultan and his advisers. He claims that he returned from Mecca intending to teach progressive ideas generally, through the medium of Islam. He supported the formation of co-operative societies, of commercial gardening, of seeking employment in the army, the police, and government departments. He sought to influence the youth of the kampong by organising sports, and even played cards, which was frowned upon by more conservative elements.

In short, Che'gu Ja'afar, in his own words, was kaum muda, but according to the Penghulu of that time he was not kaum muda - 'progressive - but merely orang muda - an uncouth 'young man' and a disturbing influence.(34) In fact the Penghulu went out of his way to warn village heads of the district against the activities and teachings of Che'gu Ja'afar.(35) Dusun Tua appears to have been an unsettled area during this period, for in 1935 the Penghulu was required by the District Officer to move his residence there from Ulu Langat in order to counteract the influence of Malay Secret Society (Bendera Merah - Red Flag) members in the district. No clear information on this is available, confidential files of the government which would have been available for research by this date having been lost during the war, but during this period there was frequent equation of kaum muda, and secret society activity, with communist influence from Indonesia. Che'gu Ja'afar was certainly no communist, and indeed during the post-war communist emergency in Malay he was employed by the police to keep a watch on muslim religious teachers for crypto-communists. The controversy in Dusun Tua still rankles sufficiently for it to be impossible for any outsider to fathom it, but though certainly personal rivalries entered into it, its basis was Che'qu Ja'afar's ranging of Islam and education on the side of change and progress.

---

(32) Asal usul adat resam Malaya (Kuala Lumpur 1964), by H.M. Sidin, one of the first editors of Majallah Guru, covers such matters as the ordering of the household, clothing, food, births, deaths, marriages, bearing arms, royal ceremonial etc.

(33) Haji Ja'afar bin Sheikh Abdul Ghani. Interviewed Dusun Tua. 13-2-68 and 26-6-68.

(34) Penghulu Mat Nor, interviewed 20-2-68.

(35) Village Head Sungei Lui interviewed 15-2-68.
Village Head Kampong Jawa interviewed 15-2-68.

The Pejabat Ugama Islam Selangor (Selangor Islamic Affairs Office) has no pre-war records, but it seems certain that during the early and mid 1930's there was a marked increase in the members of religious and Arabic schools such as that sponsored by Che'gu Ja'afar in Dusun Tua. A letter to Warta Malaya in 1938 refers to the large number of Arabic schools opened during the previous five or six years and states that the trend was continuing.(36) It demands proper recognition for the graduates of these schools, and their preference as religious teachers over the untrained self-appointed religious teachers of the older generation. None of these schools kept records, and it is not possible to assess their worth, but Che'gu Ja'afar's schools at Dusun Tua took in pupils who had completed the Government Primary School course and not succeeded in going on to English school or getting other employment. The course was primarily religious, but included Arabic taught as a modern language, not merely for the rote learning and repetition of the Koran, and the history of muslim civilisation.

Such schools coincided with a growing demand in Malaya, evidenced from the correspondence columns of the popular press, for the development of further, secondary education in Malay. In part this was answered by the development of further standards, up to Standard VI in Perak, in the primary course, but generally speaking the demand was never satisfied during the pre-war period, nor were there any plans to satisfy it. Malay society was developing its own maturity, formulating its own demands, as a sub-society in the mixed society of the Malayan peninsula, a development stimulated by the colonial policies which created an education system designed to preserve the rural nature of the Malays. Arabic education and the rhetoric of reform Islam provided the alternative to lines of development that were being denied to the Malay community.

---

(36) 'Sekolah2 Arab di-Tanah Malaya,' Warta Malaya, 17.3.38, p. 22.

The Government Malay School system itself however, although it did not figure directly in the development controversies of Malay society, provided the technical equipment with which Malay reform movements operated. Basic literacy, practical understanding of history apart from the myths and legends of Malay tradition, a western conception of the purpose of education, and a nucleus of educated Malays who as teachers in the vernacular schools with a fairly high standard of western training could mediate between the traditional and the modern - these were the elements of progress created by the Malay school system. It was the limited pretensions of this system which created cohesion rather than disruption in Malay society, leading to the plural and communal nature of Malayan society today. The vernacular school was an integrative force for the Malay community, but at the same time exclusive as regards Malayan society, the multi-racial society developing in the peninsula.

### (vi) The School as Broker.

The following lines from the peroration of the Director of Education's Report for 1938 express quite dramatically the 'ideal' isolation of much of Malay peasant society:

> '-- drifting down the Pahang river in a house-boat, visiting two, maybe three, schools on the river bank each day, stopping for the night near some quiet **riverine** kampong, where the village folk live a peaceful detached life in a world of their own, cut off, as they largely are, from the outside world, yarning of an evening with Malay villagers who have probably never heard of Mussolini or Hitler, of Czecho-Slavakia or Munich -- such a tour has many attractions, and helps to restore a proper sense of values to a mind troubled by crisis after crisis in the larger world outside.'(37)

Pahang was, and still is, one of the less developed Malay states, but as one well qualified Ulu Langat informant observed, for many of the Malay villagers the British, and the effects of western colonial rule, were in a sense 'non-existent.'(38)

There were, however, considerable signs of awakening in the Malay village communities in the 1930's, and in this the village school and school-teachers played a central role. F.J. Morten, as Director of

---

(37) Federated Malay States, Report of the Director of Education (W. Linehan), 1938, p. 40.

(38) Ishaq b. Hj. Mohd. Interviewed at Bukit Raya, Ulu Langat 7-2-68. For the very considerable part played by Ishaq in the beginnings of Malay nationalism see Roff, Origins of Malay Nationalism, pp. 227-229 and *passim*.

Education, speaks in his report for 1936 of the School Sports day as a local festivity, which would be followed by a khenduri, or feast, for the old boys of the school and men of the village. One informant, questioned about this, objected to the word Khenduri, which denotes a formal feast with a religious significance.(39) He suggested the terms 'minum teh and beramah-tamah,' a tea party with informal conversation; the difference is not insignificant, my informant implied, for we have here a new piece of social machinery, symbolic of social change.

The Annual Report of the Resident, Selangor, for 1933 speaks of a 'widespread striving of ideas in the kampongs and an increasing interest in matters hitherto unconsidered.' It instances agricultural shows independly organised by mukims and sub-districts, the popularity of school parents' days, and a growing demand for instruction in such matters as commercial poultry-keeping. Indeed it seems that the schools gardens policy, and Winstedt's vision of the school as a scientific centre for the rural community, was beginning to take effect.(40) The report for 1934 says of School Sports Days, 'These meetings which started purely as school sports are tending to become mukim meetings thereby giving the mukim a growing consciousness of its identity.'(41) Nor did this 'consciousness' end there, for T.S. Adams, the Resident of Selangor, reported that 'Village "politics" are here and there giving way to State politics and one cannot but feel that the next decades will not only be a period of great change but will require the most sympathetic and close liaison between the government and the peasant if the changes are to be for the permanent good of the State.'(42)

These are general comments, and it is not possible to assess the influence of the individual school-teacher and his school in these developments. Teachers interviewed seemed to fall into two categories, those who were content to carry out their duties only and who did not admit to any exceptional influence, and those who were highly conscious of having a demanding social task to perform.

It would be appropriate to close this section with a comment on the school at Sungei Lui, mentioned earlier, for though the evidence for the point I wish to make comes from the post-war period, it seems to be supremely relevant to the discussion of the teacher's role.

---

(39) Che'gu Markaya b. Suleiman, interviewed Kajang 11-12-67. For discussion of Khenduri, see C. Geertz, The Religion of Java (New York 1964), Chap. 1, on 'The Slametan Communal Feast as a Core Ritual.' Slametan is the Javanese equivalent of the Malay khenduri.

(40) Selangor, Annual Report on the Administration, 1933, p. 80.

(41) Selangor, Annual Report on the Administration, 1934, p. 84.

(42) Selangor, Annual Report on the Administration, 1933, p. 80.

The Sungei Lui school was opened by the village community independently, and managed by that community until the end of the Japanese occupation. As a community venture it focussed the interests of the community, and underwrote the authority of the village leadership. In spite of the village committee's requests, the school was not recognised by the Government until 1948. At this time the locally appointed school-teacher, who had been with the school since he had completed Standard V at the Government Malay School at Ulu Langat in 1934, was recognised by the Government too, but in the following year he was sent for a formal teacher training course.

Thus it was only in 1950 that the village acquired a properly trained Malay school teacher. This man soon found that the demands on his services went far beyond the limits of school work. The villagers had innumerable requests to make of the government, a back-log of many years of neglect, and for the first time here was someone who knew how to deal with authority. This headmaster proudly showed his correspondence files, with copies of letters to the District Office, and the replies neatly classified. He explains how, when the District Officer or Chief Minister of the State visits the village on tour, he is able to document village demands, complaints and problems. He is immensely popular with the 'traditional' village leadership, for his success in translating village needs into priorities, programmes and petitions.(43)

It would seem that this is a present-day example of the role of the village school and school-teacher, bridging the gap between two worlds. The school provides the basis for the acceptance of the teacher as a new sort of leader, but in the wider sphere of the village, beyond his classroom walls, his potential can only be realised if it is evoked by demands from within the village community itself. A teacher has to be activated by the community he is sent to serve, and without such activation his role is liable to be blandly limited to the daily round of the syllabus. He was the ideal broker, but strength of this link between government and people was only to be tested in the post-war years when the politics of nationalism and the independence movement began to forge a closer link between the rural population and government, reversing the principal tendencies of the colonial period.

---

(43) Based on interviews with village leaders, and with the School master, Che'gu Hassan b. Busu, at Sungei Lui, 11, 12, 15-2-68.

## VI. CONCLUSIONS

The problem faced by this research project can be stated quite simply. Vernacular primary schools as set up by the colonial government in a Southeast Asian territory were novel institutions in the village communities. The purpose has been to assess their impact.

Taking Malaya as an example, we have seen that the intentions of the policy makers, the colonial education officers, were decidedly ambiguous. In the first place it was hoped the school would raise the standards of village life in some vaguely undefined way -- 'make the farmer a better farmer, the fisherman a better fisherman.' But at the same time the school was not to become a disruptive influence, encouraging dissatisfaction with the enduring aspects of village life, causing a flow of village youth to the growing but alien centres of urbanisation. Education policy for the village called for improvement, without change.

It would not be difficult to prepare an account of educational policy in Malaya. Several very good accounts already exist, and the most notable of these, by D.D. Chelliah, J.S. Nagle and V.E. Hendershot, and the original writings of R.J. Wilkinson and Sir Richard Winstedt, are listed in the bibliography. The approach attempted in this research, but perhaps not very successfully accomplished, was in intention somewhat difficult. It has been to view the vernacular school system from the receiving end: "Here is something new. What can we make of it?" This is maybe a feat of imaginative transfer not open to a foreign mind. Indeed it seems to be difficult even for the Malayan who has succeeded in breaking the barriers and acquired the veneer of western education and western approaches. The peasant does not write his own history, and those who do try to perceive and verbalise his attitudes have already burdened themselves with sophisticated prejudices and mental impediments which cloud the vision.

A careful distinction can be made in disucssing educational provision between 'need' and 'demand.' 'Need' refers to requirements laid upon the educational system by the policy makers, and is strictly related to tasks to be undertaken and occupations to be filled. Particularly under a colonial government which does not depend on the subject people for its mandate, it is the major factor governing policy. 'Demand' relates to popular perception of the potential of education for oneself, for one's children, or, at a more advanced level of political sophistication, for one's community. It reflects 'need,' in that need is closely related to opportunity, but it is not quantitively geared to need.

In Malaya we have observed a situation which was continually out of balance. At first, and through the first decade of the present century, rapid change and development in British Malaya caused an expanding need for educated persons which outran the local demand for education. In fact the local population was not readily aware or appreciative of the extent of the changes taking place, nor of their implications. Literates and skilled workers had to be imported to supply this need, and 'foreigners', in particular Ceylonese Tamils and South Indians, came to form a community whose purpose was the supply of clerical and specialised labour.

Meanwhile efforts were made to satisfy this need locally by providing education for Malays, and education came to be associated with dynamic personal social change, and upward and outward mobility. By the second decade of the century popular demand had taken up the slack; by the 1920's it was beginning to outrun the need, which, after the initial impact of western enterprise, was strictly limited. Thus it became necessary to redefine the basis of the Malay educational system, a task entrusted to Winstedt, and to reaffirm its essentially rural and rustic purposes. So far from being modern and progressive, education was recast in a more traditional mould, with the task of confirming an existing situation, of strengthening the rural orientation of the peasant.

The main difference from traditional education was that the Government School accomplished this function through a secular curriculum; with basic literary, agricultural skills, personal hygiene, but above all village pursuits. For this reason the concept of education as a force for change, which had by now taken firm root, migrated to the galaxy of religious ideas, and found its most forceful expression in the reformist Islam movement.

In this development we can discuss two kinds of popular leader, the Malay school teacher, who had received his training at the Sultan Idris Training College, and the progressive Muslim teacher who in most cases had studied for some years in Cairo or Mecca. In the attitudes of both there is an accommodation. The progressive Islamic teacher had adopted the idea of religion as a force for development and change, and a force to be applied by adoption of pedagogical techniques learnt from the west. The village school-teacher learnt that his ideas could be most effectively transmitted by couching them in religious rhetoric, and by informally presenting them for discussion at the mosque, the centre of the village community.

There were two elements ranged against them. In the first place there was the traditional Muslim teacher, the village lebai, whose personal ascendancy as a man of knowledge was by-passed by the advent of the trained village school-teacher, and whose religious authority was directly challenged by the reformist Muslim. In the second place, though this is admittedly a debatable assertion, there was a growing sense of exclusiveness, and superiority to be preserved, among Malays of the 'upper class' who had received an English education and were beginning to constitute a clearly defined class apart from their vernacular educated fellows.

In Malaya it is not possible to trace this equation of interests to its natural conclusion. The intervention of the Japanese occupation, which still awaits adequate research, blurs the lines of development, and the post-war situation, with its unmasking of the plural nature of Malayan society and hot-house atmosphere of nationalist and independence movements, brought matters to a head more rapidly and dramatically than could have been foreseen in 1940. It is however impossible to study this pre-war period without gaining the impression that, had the Pacific War not intervened, a critical phase would have been entered upon by the late 1940's.

So far this conclusion has tended to minimise the direct role of the village school as an effective force for progress. This runs counter to the common concept of education as a major tool for change and development, a change which makes education policy a major concern of most developing nations. But in the body of the report is has been suggested that in Malaya the school did indeed have a very fundamental role to play, a community creative role within a heterogeneous Malay community. The principal device in this process was the standardisation of the Malay language, and the formation of a community of Malay literates which broke down and crossed the barriers of this heterogeneity. It has been significant for Malaya that this growing awareness of Malay identity was paralleled by a growing sense of unity among the Chinese community, though in this report it has not been possible to include a discussion of the Chinese in Malaya. Thus Malaya saw a strengthening unity among its main ethnic components, and a greater definition of the gap between them. The limitations on Malay cultural and economic mobility, characterised by the pre-emption of a complete constellation of activities by foreign peoples, were underwritten by colonial education policy, and this instilled into the Malays a sense of the urgency of finding alternative solutions to their predicament.

The myth of Malay apathy, so often found in western accounts of Malay society, is sufficiently discredited by a reading of the Malay press of the period, which was deeply concerned over the need for Malays, as a community, to learn. The Malay school initially did its work by representing symbolically the force of education for change, but as it was finally established it failed in its responsibility to the learning potential of Malay society. To return to the terminology introduced at the start of this report, as audience had been created, but its tastes were not satisfied by the programme offered to it. This lack of audience enthusiasm was interpreted as apathy.

Colonial education policies of this period were underwritten by the latest trends in western pedagogical thought. Concepts of child-centred education fully supported the rural bias in the Malay school. It is therefore interesting that Malay criticism of the schools seems to have been mainly that they offered little that the pupil could not have acquired in the experiences of village life. The school, in fact, in its final pre-1940 form, offered no challenge to the Malay way of life, and by the same token it provided no stimulus. To use a more modern pedagogical concept, it set up no dialogue; it was acceptable, but not controversial. Nor did it contribute significantly to the very real dialogue, the _kaum tua_ - _kaum muda_ dialogue, that was exercising the Malay community.

Much work remains to be done on the role of non-western, non-government schools under colonial rule, not only in Malaya, but in other similar areas too. Unfortunately it is not easy to establish the techniques for effectively carrying out such research. In the first place, such schools rarely have records, and secondly, since in most cases they have been submerged under the advance of post-colonial national education programmes, it is not possible to observe contemporary examples in action. In the significant case of such a school in the _mukim_ studied for the present piece of research, even the man who claimed to have been primarily responsible for it, Che'gu Ja'afar of Dusun Tua, was not able to provide a clear account of its operation, or of its 'status' in the educational valuation of the community. It was, however, to schools such as these that the Malays turned to supplement and enrich the bland educational diet offered by the government.

One of the intentions of this report was to find out more about such schools, and it must be confessed that the results of the enquiry were disappointing. It is still the intention of the researcher to pursue this matter, and relate it to similar schools in other areas, when the opportunity permits. It is beyond the purview of this study, but Malaya today is seeing a liberalising of government policy aimed at uniting the various types of existing elementary school under one primary system. This apparently is bringing to the surface more examples of persisting Arabic modernist schools, some of them dating from the period which has been the subject of this study. This is a comparatively recent development, and it will be sometime before adequate information is available, upon which theoretical constructions could be based.

The principal lesson learnt from this study was the realisation that the educational process and school system are not necessarily related, and that where the school system falls short, the educational process may manifest itself through alternative institutions. It is instructive to note that the Malay press during this period discussed the Malay predicament in educational terms; the concept of a community at school seems to underlie the consideration of Malay problems and their solutions, and yet the colonial school system itself made no attempt to capitalise on this. This would indeed seem to subscribe to the theory that there is such a factor as the 'audience' which should be taken into consideration, for it is not entirely passive.

Malay teachers who were interviewed, when the question of Malay nationalism was raised, were proud to point out that, in their view, Malay political organisation began with them. This is in contrast to the standard accounts which describe prominent Malay leaders organising teachers and others in political groupings. The study of Ulu Langat has led to the suggestion that the teachers themselves tended to become active in response to village expectations, and that where a village community was apathetic, the teacher very quickly lost his early enthusiasms and accommodated his behaviour to the less controversial roles assigned to an 'ex-officio' village elder of the traditional stamp. This approach, from the bottom upwards, to the forces of change is novel, and hard to prove, but it is particularly intriguing to the historian trying to free himself from western oriented approaches to colonial history, and attempting to elucidate a local historical dynamic which will give perspective to post-colonial developments.

What can it mean in terms of education? There is a tendency today to place a heavy reliance on the power of education for change. In Malaya, which is not basically atypical of other colonial areas, we have seen an education system at work which though modern in its methods was traditional in the sense that it tried to reflect and reinforce what was believed to be the existing situation. But the Malay people were undergoing educational experiences as a community quite independent of the school system, and were quite conscious of this. In so far as the school served these educational processes, in the supplying of a standard of communication which aided the development of a sense of community, it was accepted, but where it failed, when it became restrictive, in not opening the doors to wider opportunity, it was by-passed. It could be suggested therefore that education should be 'education-centred,' based not on the situation of the object community but on the forces at work upon them. This would supply a dynamic, rather than a static, character to the school system. This conclusion is admittedly essentially based on an organic view of society, and a somewhat emotional view at that, and may not be acceptable to those who see society as a machine which can be regulated and manipulated by man. A people will get the government it deserves, it has been said; a people will also seek the education it requires, and generally has a much keener appreciation of its needs than the policy maker is pleased to admit.

## VII Glossary

Adat - Custom generally; customary law.

Bin - Son of, abbreviated to b.

Che'gu - Teacher, honorific, abbreviation of Che'guru.

Haji - One who has been to Mecca, abbreviated to Hj.

Hikayat - Story, Chronicle

Imam - Religious leader, head of mosque congregation

Jawi - Malayo-Arabic script

Kampong - Malay village. Ketua Kampong - Village Head.

Kaum Muda - Progressive. Kaum Tua - Conservative

Khenduri - Formal religious feast

Lebai - Pious elder, Mosque official. Came to be associated with Kaum Tua.

Mukim - Administrative subdivision of a District

Munshi - Language teacher

Orang dagang - foreigner. Dato dagang - leader of immigrant Malay group.

Penghulu - Malay official responsible for a mukim

Sekolah - School: Sekolah Ra'ayat or Rakyat - Unrecognized school, established by Malay village community.

## VIII. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Unpublished Records:

Records from the District Office, Kajang, Selangor: 1884 to 1935.

Buku2 Perharian (Headmaster's Diary) and Register, Sekolah Melayu, Bukit Raya, Selangor, 191701946.

Published Official Records:

Federated Malay States, Annual Reports, 1880-1939.

Federated Malay States, Selected Reports of State Inspectors of Education before 1906. Annual Reports of the Director of Education 1906-1938.

Federated Malay States, Departmental Reports other than Reports of the Director of Education. 1896-1940.

Federated Malay States, Proceedings of the Federal Council 1909-1940.

Federated Malay States, Federal Council Papers:

'Interim Reports of the Retrenchment Commission,' No 15 of 1923.

'Final Report of the Retrenchment Commission,' No 16 of 1923.

'Report of the Decentralisation Committee,' No 36 of 1923.

'Decentralisation and Political Development of the Federated Malay States,' A Statement by the High Commissioner No 39 of 1925.

'Report on the Popular Credit Institutions of the Netherlands East Indies,' by A. Cavendish, No 21 of 1926.

'Report on Co-operation in Malaya,' by C.F. Strickland, No 26 of 1929.

'Report of the Rice Cultivation Committee,' No 24 of 1931.

'Excerpts from the Proceedings of the Durbar held at Sri Menanti on Tuesday 18th August 1931,' No 38 of 1931.

'Report of the F.M.S. Retrenchment Committee,' No 31 of 1932.

'Statement of Educational Policy,' No 31 of 1936.

Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers:

'The Education of Asiatics,' R.J. Wilkinson, in Special Reports on Education Subjects, Vol 8, 1932.

'The System of Education in the F.M.S.,' Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Vol 14, 1905.

Report by W.A. Ormsby-Gore on His Visit to Malaya, Ceylon, and Java in 1928, 1928-29.

'Higher Education in Malaya: Report of the Commission appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, June 1939. Colonial Paper No 173, 1939.

Straits Settlements, Federated Council Papers:

Report by Mr. R.O. Winstedt, Assistant Director of Education, S.S. and F.M.S., on Vernacular and Industrial Education in the Netherlands East Indies and the Philippines, No 22 of 1917.

Report on the Census of the F.M.S. 1901 (Kuala Lumpur 1901).

Report on the Census of the F.M.S. 1911 (Kuala Lumpur 1912).

Census of British Malaya 1921 (London 1922).

British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census (London 1932).

Malaya, A Report on the 1947 Census (London 1947).

Report of the Committee on Malay Education (Chmn. Mr. L.J. Barnes) (Kuala Lumpur 1951).

Selected List of Books and Articles used or affecting this study.

Abdul Aziz b. Ishak, Katak keluar dari bawah Tempurong, The Frog comes out from under the Coconut Shell (Singapore 1959).

Abdul Majid b. Zainuddin, The Malays of Malaya, by One of Them (Singapore 1928).

A. Talib b. Hj. Ahmad, Perang Saudara di-Selangor 1868-1875, The Selangor Civil War (Kuala Lumpur 1962).

Abdullah b. Abdul Kadir, Munshi, Hikayat Abdullah Autobiography (Kuala Lumpur 1960).

________________, Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah. The Voyage of Abdullah (Kuala Lumpur 1960).

Abdullah Sanusi b. Ahmad, Peranan Pejabat Karang Mengarang dalam Bidang2 Pelajaran Sekolah2 Melayu dan Kesusasteraan di-Kalangan Orang Ramai. The Role of the Translation Bureau in the Fields of Malay Education and General Literature (Kuala Lumpur 1966).

Ahmad Ibrahim, Islamic Law in Malaya (Singapore 1965).

Al-Hadi (Sayyid) Shaykh b. Ahmad, Ugama Islam dan Akal, Islam and Reason (Penang 1931).

Ali b. Haji Ahmad, Puisi Bahara Melayu (Zaman Permulaan), Modern Malay Poetry (The Beginnings), (Kuala Lumpur 1959).

________________, Rintisan, Antoloji Cherita Pendek Melayu Sa-belum Perang Dunia Kedua, Tracings, Anthology of Malay Short Stories before the Second World War (Kuala Lumpur 1964).

Alisjahbana, S.T., X.S. Thani Nayagam and Wang Gungwu, eds., The Cultural Problems of Malaysia in the Context of Southeast Asia (Kuala Lumpur 1966).

____________, Indonesia, Social and Cultural Revolution (Kuala Lumpur 1961).

Bahnan b. Yusof, Beneh Kemajuam, Seeds of Growth (Batu Pahat 1941).

Bird, Isabella, The Golden Chersonese (New York 1883).

Black, C.E., The Dynamics of Modernisation (New York 1966).

Brown, C.C., Malay Sayings (London 1959).

Brojanagara, Sejarah Pendidekan Indonesia, History of Indonesian Education (Jogjakarta 1956).

Brugmars, I.J., Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië History of Education in Netherlands India (Batavia 1938).

Bruner, J.S., Towards a Theory of Instruction (Harvard 1966).

Burridge, K.O.L., 'The Malay Composition of a Village in Johore', Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 29/3 (1956), 60-77.

________________, 'Rural Administration in Malaya,' Journal of African Administration 9/1 (1957).

Chai Hon-Chan, The Development of British Malaya 1896-1909 (Kuala Lumpur 1964).

Chandrasekhar, S., Asia's Population Problems (London1967).

Cheeseman, H.A.R., Bibliography of Malaya (London 1958).

Chelliah, D.D., History of Educational Policy in the Straits Settlements 1800-1925 (Kuala Lumpur 1947).

Clifford, H., Selected Stories of Sir Hugh Clifford, Ed., W.R. Roff, (Kuala Lumpur 1966).

Coleman, J.S., Education and Political Development (Princeton 1965).

Colonial Office, London, Eastern Papers, Malay States Papers, Straits Settlements Papers. (Miscellaneous printed papers, reports, newspaper cuttings.)

Djajadiningrat (Raden) Loekman, From Illiteracy to University, Educational Development in the Netherlands Indies to 1940 (New York 1942).

Downs, R.E., 'A Rural Community in Kelantan, Malaya,' Studies on Asia (1960), 51-62.

Drewes, G.W.J., 'L'Oeuvre du Bureau d'Education Populaire en Indonesie 1917-1942,' The work of the Bureau of Popular Education in Indonesia, Afrika Institut, Leiden, Symposium on Popular Education (Leiden 1953).

Embree, E.K., M.S. Simon, W.B. Mumford, Island India goes to School (Chicago 1934).

Emerson, R., Malaysia: a study in Direct and Indirect Rule (New York 1933).

Feith, H., The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia (Cornell 1962).

Firth, Raymond, Malay Fishermen: Their Peasant Economy (London 1966).

______________, 'The Peasantry of Southeast Asia,' International Affairs 26/4 (1950).

Fisk, E.R., Studies in the Rural Economy of Southeast Asia (London 1964).

Foster, P., Education and Social Change in Ghana (Chicago 1965).

Fraser, T.M., Rusembilan. A Malay Fishing Village in Southern Thailand (Cornell 1960).

Furnivall, J.S., Colonial Policy and Practice (Oxford 1948).

_______________, Education Progress in Southeast Asia (New York 1943).

Geertz, C., The Religion of Java (New York 1960).

Guillemard, Sir L., Trivial Fond Records (London 1937).

Hanks, L.M., 'Bang Chan and Bangkok: Five Perspectives in the Relation of Local to National History,' Journal of Southeast Asian History 8/2 (Sept 1967), 250-256.

Gullick, J.M., Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya (London 1958).

_____________, The Story of Early Kuala Lumpur (Singapore 1956).

Hashim, Capt. N.J., The Malays of Krian (Kuala Lumpur 1922).

Hicks, E.R., English Schools in Perak (Ipoh 1958).

Ho Seng On, Education for Unity in Malaya (Penang 1952).

(Syed) Husin Ali, Patterns of Rural Leadership in Malaya (UNESCO Delhi 1966).

________________, 'Social Stratification in Kampong Bagan, Batu Pahat' Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Monograph (Singapore 1964).

Ibrahim Omar, Desa Pingitan, The Secluded Village (Kuala Lumpur 1964).

Innes, E., The Chersonese with the Gilding off. 2 vols (London 1885), (repr. Kuala Lumpur 1967).

Jacoby, E.H., Agrarian Unrest in Southeast Asia (New York 1949).

Kartohadikoesoemo, S., Desa, Village (Jogjakarta 1953).
de Kat Angelino, A.D.A., Colonial Policy, 2 vols (Chicago 1931).
Kazamias, A., and B. Massialas, Tradition and Change in Education (New Jersey 1965).
Leach, E.R., Pul Eliya: A Village in Ceylon (Cambridge 1961).
Lim, Beda, Malaya, A Background Bibliography, Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1962. (Journal, Vol 35, Nos 2 and 3).
Lim Chong Yah, The Economic Development of Modern Malaya (Kuala Lumpur 1967).
Mahajani, Usha, The Role of Indian Minorities in Burma and Malaya (New York 1957).

Mahdi Kedah, Chegu di-dalam tahanan, Teacher in detention (Penang 1956).
Mansor Sanusi, Sejarah Perkembangan Pelajaran Melayu, History of Development of Malay Education (Penang 1955).
Maxwell, Sir G., 'The Mixed Communities of Malaya,' British Malaya 17/1 (Feb 1943), 115-119.
Mayhew, A., Education in the Colonial Empire (London 1938).
Mills, L.A., British Malaya, 1824-1867 (Kuala Lumpur 1967). First publ 1925.
Milne, R.S., Government and Politics in Malaya (London 1966).
Mohd. b. Dato Muda, Tawarikh Akhbar2 Dan Majallah2 Melayu Keluaran Semenanjong Tanah Melayu, History of Malay Newspapers and Journals published in the Malay Peninsula, Majallah Guru 15/10 (Oct 1938).
Mohd. Taib b. Osman, Bahasa Renchana Pengarang Akhbar2 Melayu hingga ka-tahun 1941, Language of the Editorials in Malay Newspapers up to 1941 (Kuala Lumpur 1964).
Mohd. Yunus Hamidi, Sejarah Pergerakan Politik Melayu Semenanjong, History of the Peninsula Malay political movement (Kuala Lumpur 1961).
Muhamed Radjib, Semasa Kechil Di-Kampong 1913-1928, Village Childhood (Djakarta 1950).
Mumford, W.B., 'Comparative Studies of Native Education in Various Dependencies,' Yearbook of Education (London 1935), pp. 810-850.
Nagle, J.S., The Educational Needs of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States (Baltimore 1928).
Naguib Al-Atlas (Syed), Some aspects of Sufism as understood and practised among the Malays (Singapore 1963).
Nair, Kusum, Blossoms in the dust (New York 1962).
Nash, M., The Golden Road to Modernity, Village Life in Contemporary Burma (New York 1965).
Nieuwenhuis, G.J., Opvoeding tot Autonomie, Progress towards Independence (Groningen 1923).
Pye, L., Politics, Personality, and Nation-Building (New Haven 1962).
Redfield, R.L., Peasant Society and Culture (Chicago 1956).
Ramsey, A.B., 'Indonesians in Malaya,' Journal, Malay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society 29/1 (May 1956), 119-124.
Rao, Y.V.L., Communication and Development, A Study of Two Indian Villages (Minneapolis 1966).
Roff, W.R., The Origins of Malay Nationalism (New Haven 1967).
__________, A Guide to Malay Periodicals 1876-1941 (Singapore 1961).

______________, Sejarah Surat2 Khabar Melayu, History of Malay Newspapers (Penang 1967).

Ryan, B., Sinhalese Village (Coral Gables 1958).

Sarkar, N.K., and S.J. Tambiah, The Disintegrating Village (Colombo 1957).

Seligman, C.G., Essays presented to C.G. Seligman (London 1934) for paper by E. Wraith, 'Indigenous Education in Africa.'

Shamsul Bahrin (Tengku), 'The Growth and Distribution of the Indonesian Population in Malaya,' Bijdragen tot de taal-, land-, en volkenkunde 123/2 (1967), 267-286.

Sidney, R.J.H., In British Malaya Today (London n.d.).

Silcock, T.H., 'The Role of Education in the Political and Economic Development of Southeast Asia' in Piper and Cole, Post-Primary Education and Political and Economic Development (Duke 1964).

Soenarno, Radin, 'Malay Nationalism,' Journal of Southeast Asian History 1/1 (May 1960), 1-28.

Swettenham, Sir Frank, Stories and Sketches, ed. W.R. Roff (Kuala Lumpur 1966).

Swift, M.G., Malay Peasant Society in Jelebu (London 1965).

Thabault, R., Mon Village, L'Ascension d'un Peuple, My Village, The advancement of a people (Paris 1945).

Thomson, F., and R. Adloff, Cultural Institutions and Educational Policy in Southeast Asia (New York 1948).

Tinker, H., Ballot Box and Bayonet, People and Government in Emergent Asian Countries (Oxford 1964).

__________, Re-orientation, Studies on Asia in Transition (London 1965).

Tregonning, K.G., (ed.), Malayan Historical Sources (Singapore 1962).

Van der Wal, Het Onderwijs-Beleid in Nederlands-Indië 1900-1940, Educational Policy in Netherlands India (Groningen 1963).

__________, Some Information in Education in Indonesia up to 1942 (The Hague 1961).

Verkerk Pistorius, A.W.P., Ceylon, Indische Volksbelangen (The Hague 1874), see pp. 87-182, 'Het Volksonderwijs in Ceylon,' Popular Education in Ceylon.

Vu Quoc Thu, ed., Social Research and Problems of Rural Development in Southeast Asia (Paris 1963).

Wang Chen Hsiu Chin, Education in Malaysia: A Bibliography (Singapore 1964).

Walker, R.P.S., Education in Malaya, Reprints from Oversea Education 1930-1942 (Kuala Lumpur 1948).

Wertheim, W.F., Indonesian Society in Transition (The Hague 1959).

Wheeler, L.R., The Modern Malay (London 1928).

Wilkinson, R.J., A History of the Peninsular Malays, with Chapters on Perak and Selangor (Singapore 1920).

Winstedt, Sir R.O., The Malays, A Cultural History (London 1950).

________________, The Malay Magician (London 1951).

________________, Education in Malaya (Singapore 1923).

Woolf, L.S., Diaries in Ceylon 1908-11 (Colombo 1962).

Wright, A., and H.A. Cartwright, Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya (London 1908).

Wyndham, H.A. (Lord Leconfield), *Native Education* (Oxford 1933).

Zainal Abidin b. Ahmad, Chapter on 'Modern Developments' in R.O. Winstedt's *A History of Malay Literature*, Journal, Malay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society 17/3 (1939), 142-162.

Zabedah Awang Ngah, *Renongan, Antoloji Esei Melayu dalam tahun 1924-1941* Anthology of Malay Essays 1924-1942 (Kuala Lumpur 1964).

Unpublished M.S. and Theses:

Abdullah b. Ahmad, *Kenang-Kenang-an S.I.T.C.*, Reminiscences of Sultan Idris Training College, National Archives, Malaysia.

Awang Had b. Salleh, *Malay Teacher Training in British Malaya 1878-1941*, B.A. Ed. Thesis, University of Malaya 1967.

Hendershot, V.E., *An historical critique of the Educational System of British Malaya,* Ph.D. Thesis, University of S. California, 1941.

(Syed) Husin Ali, Essays written by students of Syed Husin Ali, Lecturer, Malay Studies, University of Malaya on the subject of Leadership and Organisation in Rural Communities, Malay Studies Dept, University of Malay 1965-66. Esp. Nahariah Hussain 'Pentadbiran dan Pimpinan di-Daerah Ulu Langat,' Organisation and Leadership in Ulu Langat District.

Loh Fook Seng, *Some Aspects of British Social Policy in the Protected Malay States 1877-1895*, M.A. Thesis, University of Malaya 1967.

Nik Ahmad b. Hj. Nik Hassan, *The Malay Vernacular Press*, B.A. Hons Thesis, University of Malaya, Singapore 1958.

Tan, S.H., Mrs., *The Life and Times of Sayyid Sheikh Al-Hadi*, B.A. Hons Thesis, University of Malaya, Singapore 1961.

Newspapers, Periodicals, and Magazines:

*Majallah Guru*, Monthly, Seremban 1924-32, Kuala Lumpur 1932-38, Penang 1939-41.

*Warta Malaya*, Singapore, Daily 1930 to 1941.

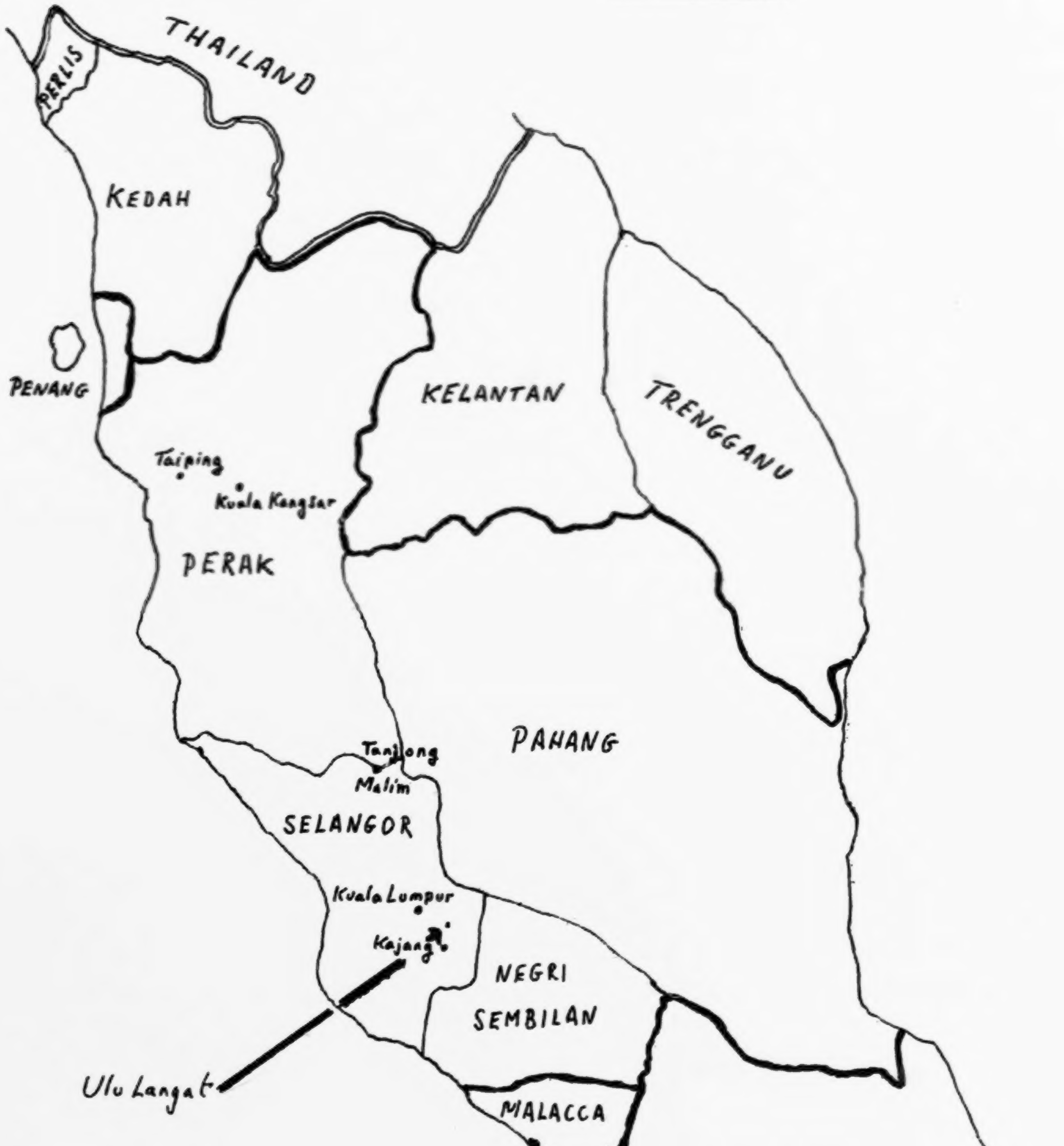
*Majlis*, Kuala Lumpur, Twice weekly 1932-35, Thrice weekly to 1939, Daily 1940-41.

*Utusan Melayu*, Singapore, Daily 1939-41.

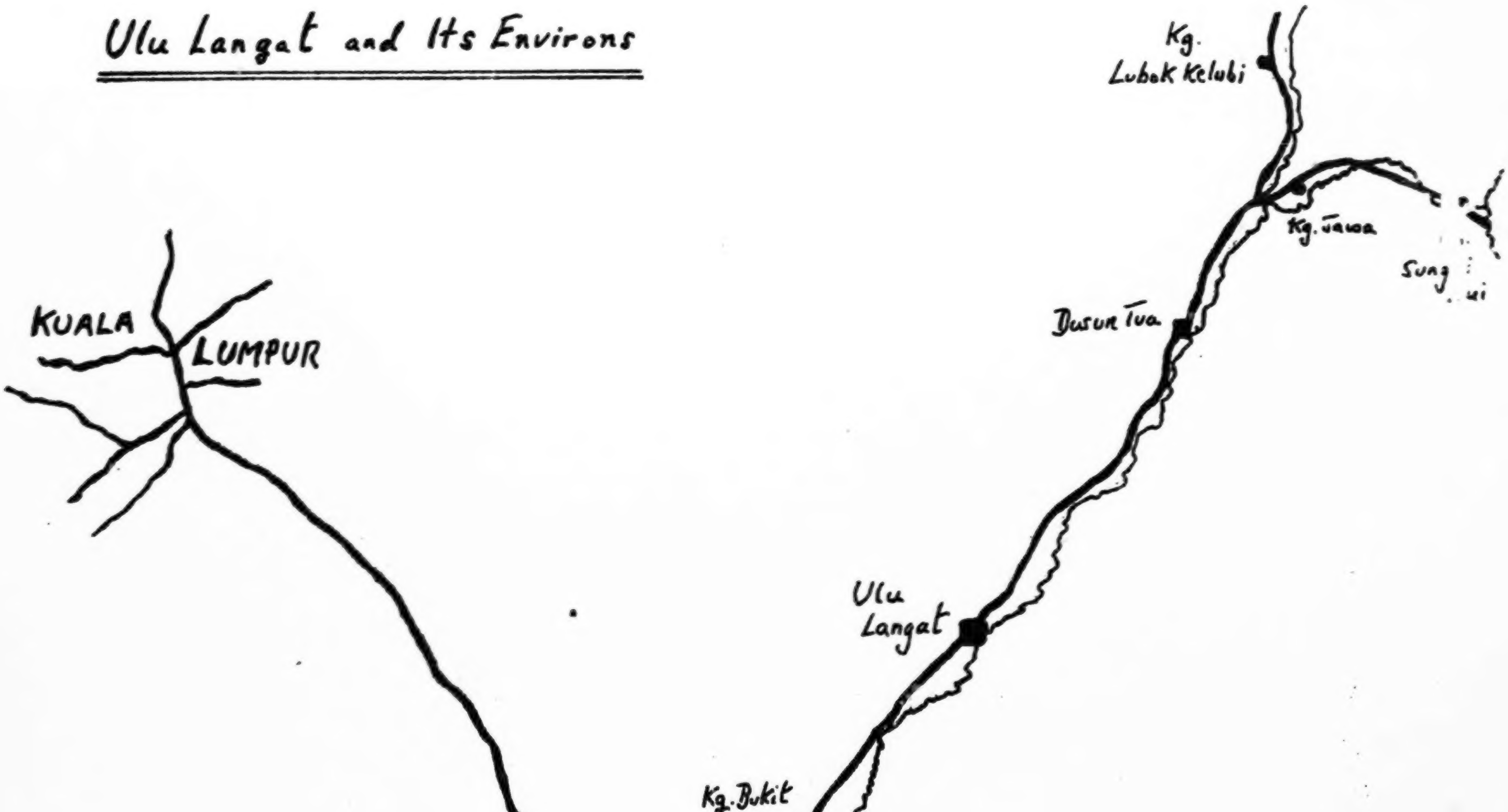
*Chenderamata*, The Magazine of Sultan Idris Training College, Bi-annually 1923-42.

Note. The above are the only publications which were extensively used for this study. In the case of *Chenderamata* only a few numbers could be located. *Majallah Guru* was read in its entirety. *Warta Malaya* and *Majlis* were sampled by a research assistant. The anthology *Renongan* (see Zabedah Awang Ngah in the bibliography) is mainly a collection of editorials and topical essays culled from the Malay press of the period, drawing upon thirteen publications for its materials, and constitutes an excellent survey of Malay opinion.

# MALAYA


THAILAND
PERLIS
KEDAH
PENANG
KELANTAN
TRENGGANU
Taiping
Kuala Kangsar
PERAK
PAHANG
Tanjong Malim
SELANGOR
Kuala Lumpur
Kajang
NEGRI SEMBILAN
Ulu Langat
MALACCA
JOHORE
SINGAPORE

Ulu Langat and Its Environs


Kg. Lubok Kelubi
Kg. Jawa
Sung ui
Dusun Tua
KUALA LUMPUR
Ulu Langat
Kg. Bukit Raya
Batu Sembilan
Langat River
Cheras
Kajang
0 1 2 3 4 5
Scale. 2 miles : 1 inch